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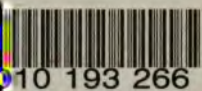
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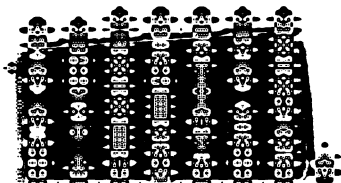
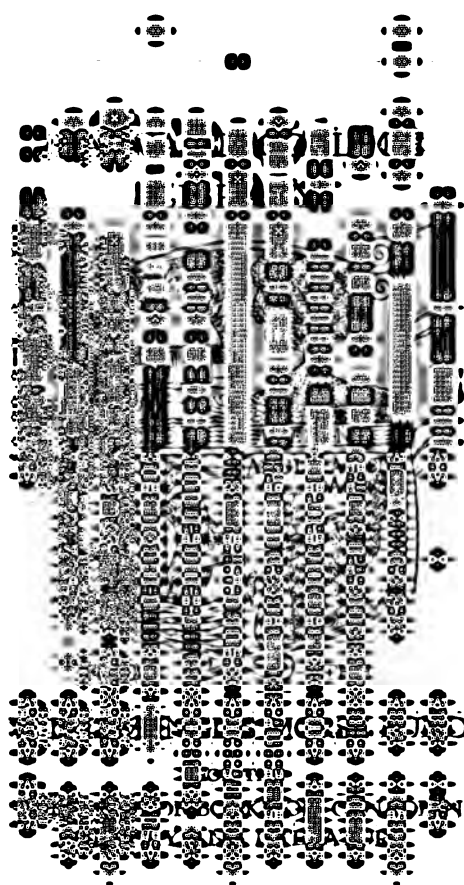
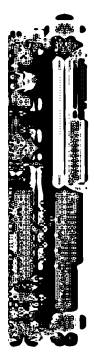
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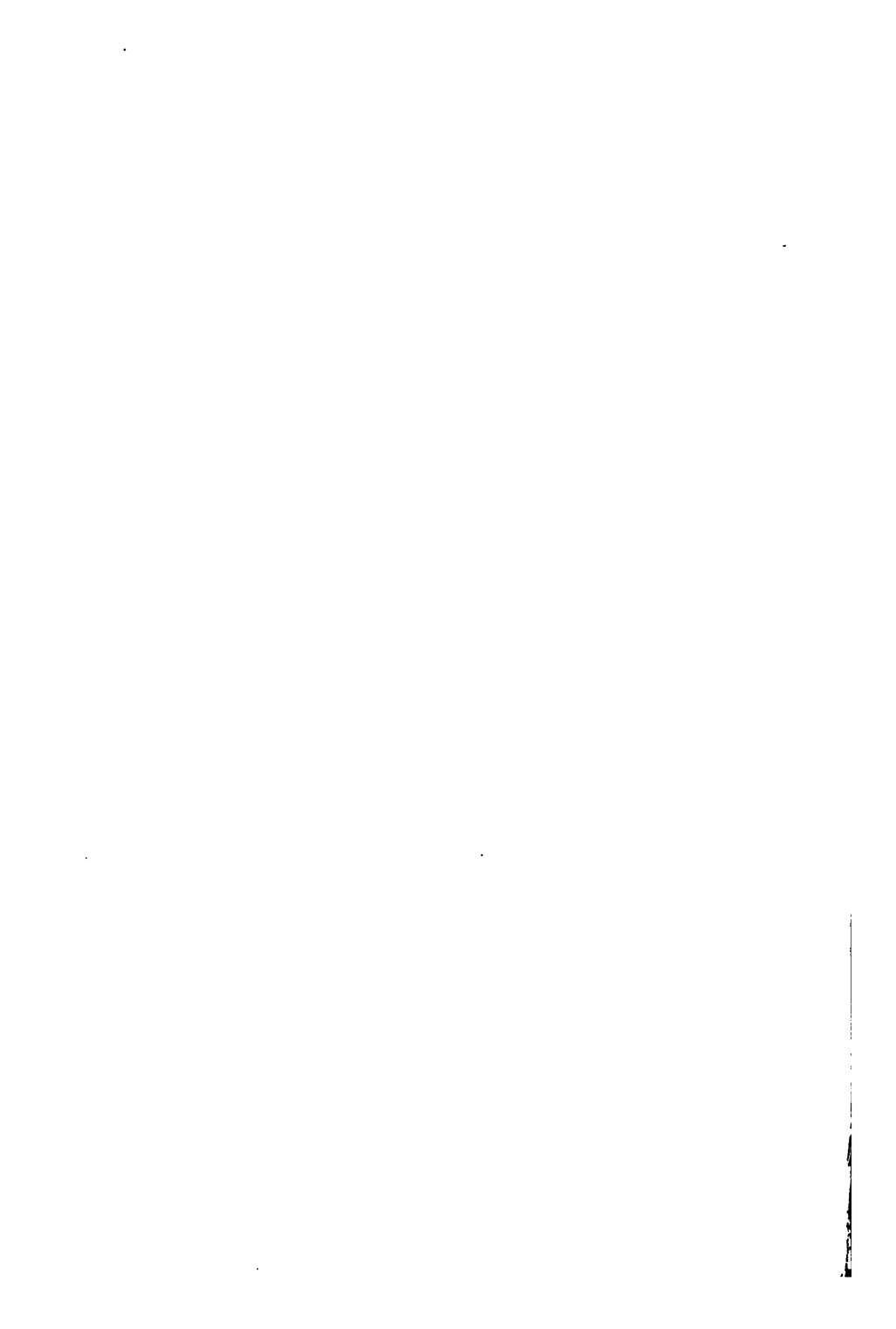
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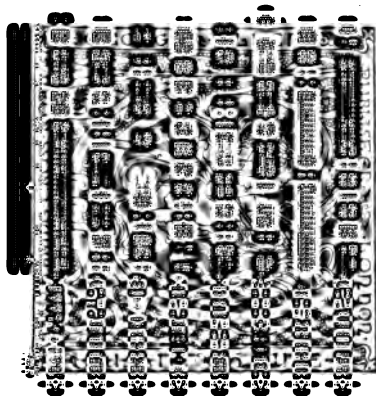
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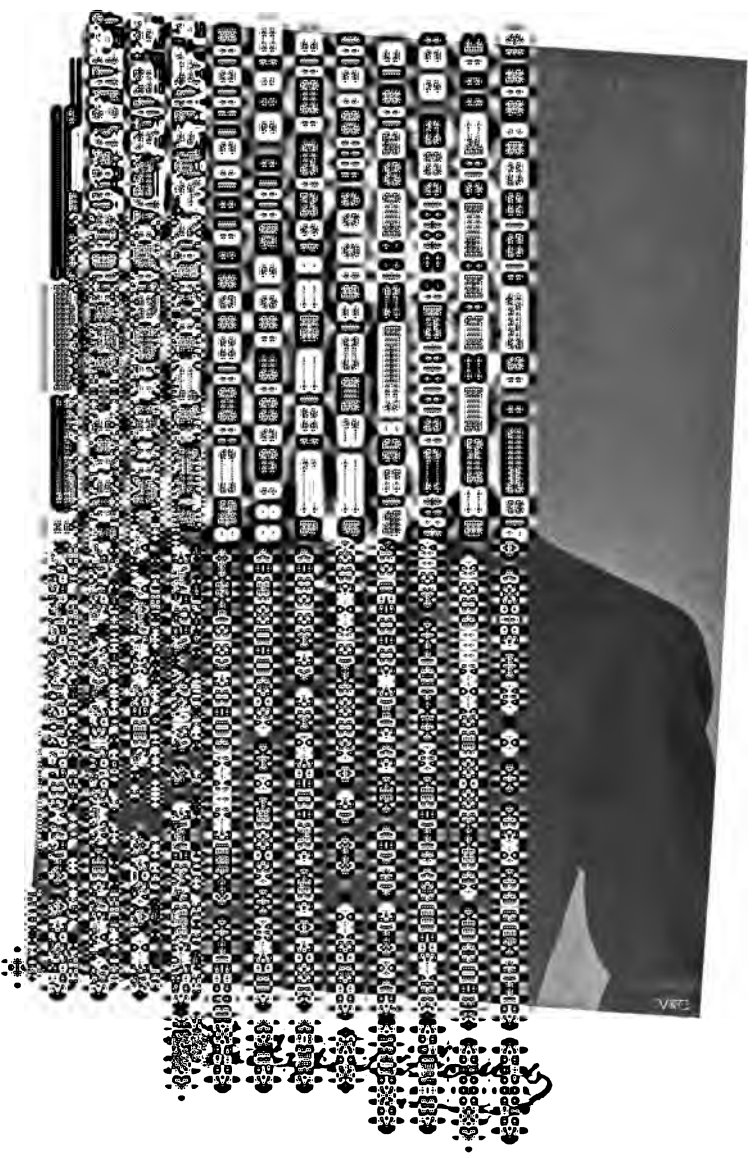


**A PIONEER OF  
IMPERIAL FEDERATION  
IN CANADA**







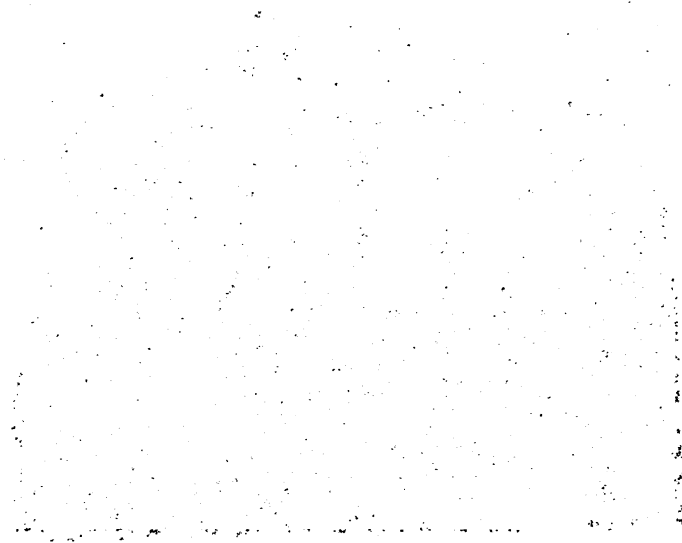


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A HISTORY OF  
IMPERIAL FEDERATION  
IN CANADA

BY  
SIR THOMAS STURGEON, K.C.

INTRODUCED BY  
J. ALLEN GIBSON, M.A., LL.D.,  
F.R.S.,  
OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO



*St. Louis, Mo.*

A PIONEER OF  
IMPERIAL FEDERATION  
IN CANADA

BY  
SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.

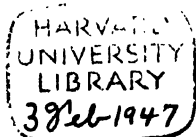
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## PREFACE

IN the chapter of this volume which is headed "Imperial Federation—What is it?" I have described what are my own ideas on this great subject.

It may and probably will be the last time I shall raise my voice publicly on behalf of this vital national question.

My life has already been prolonged far beyond the Psalmist's memorable limit. My sands are inevitably almost run out.

I leave to the fair, candid, and serious consideration of the most intelligent and thoughtful of my countrymen the patriotic solution and ultimate adoption of this supreme problem.

More than thirty years ago I was led

by an irresistible inspiration to take up the cause. I made it the object of close study, and as a result devoted myself enthusiastically to its advocacy. Under the title of "Imperial Federation" I published a book in 1876, which I dedicated to my countrymen, at home and beyond the seas.

As I have travelled on in the journey of life since the days of those years long gone by, I have never swerved from giving an active support to a question, on the principles of which, through good and evil report, I felt so deeply. I still hold boldly aloft the banner of Imperial Federation, under which I have earnestly fought so long, from a profound conviction of its importance to Great and Greater Britain.

I leave to my countrymen, as my latest political legacy, a heartfelt appeal to them, in the fulness of time, to resolve to bring about its accomplishment from their being

## PREFACE

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as firmly convinced of its paramount benefit and its absolute necessity as myself, if they desire, as much as I do, to foster and preserve the permanent union of the British Empire.

FREDERICK YOUNG.

5 QUEENSBERRY PLACE, S.W.,  
*May 1902.*





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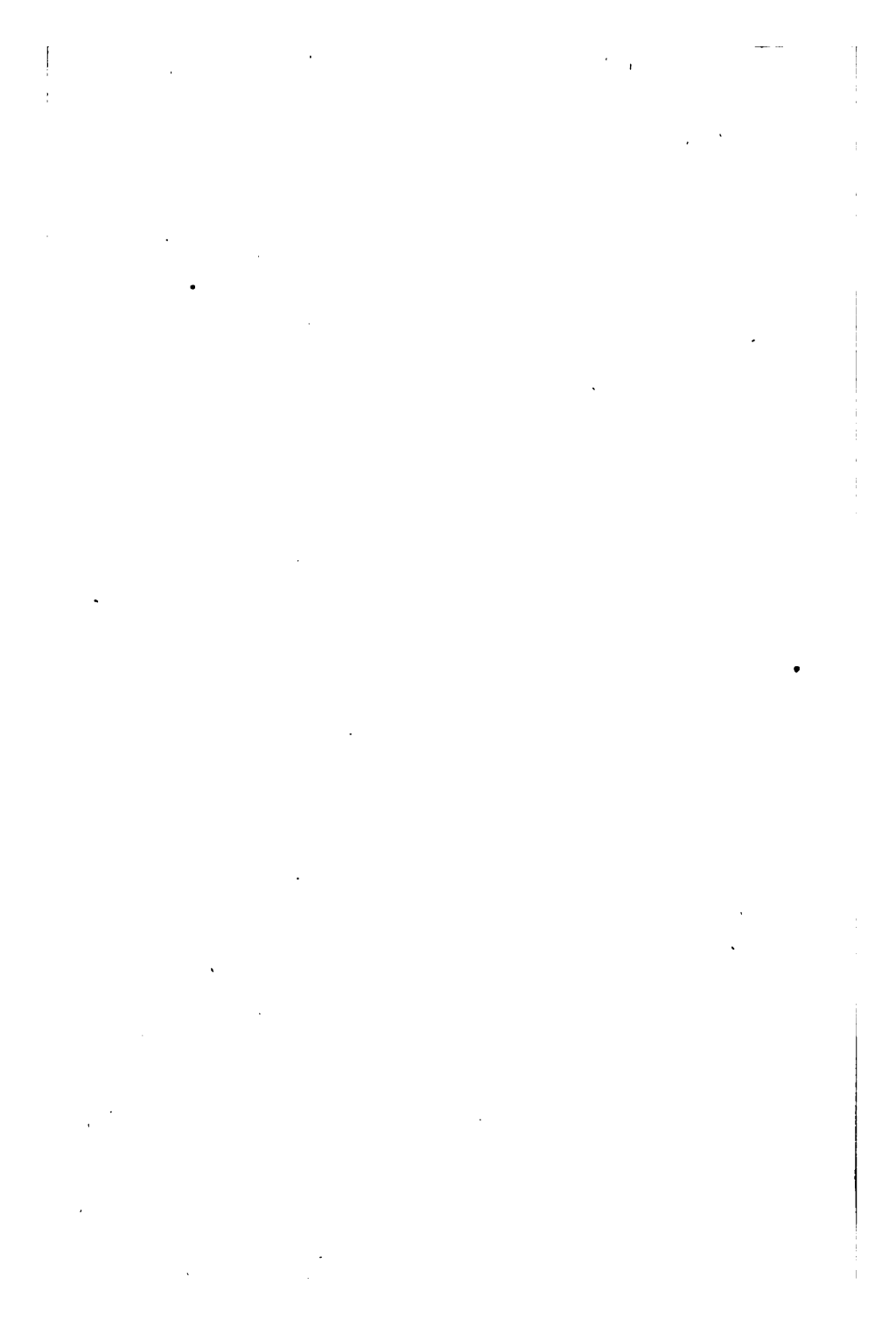
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# A PIONEER OF IMPERIAL FEDERATION IN CANADA

## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTORY

#### VOYAGE TO CANADA *viâ* NEW YORK

HINDHEAD, near Haslemere, is one of the most beautiful places in the South of England. It possesses all the attractions of the Highlands of Scotland. Beautiful scenery, extensive landscape, glorious views, heather-covered hills, a bracing and invigorating climate. In this lovely spot I was staying in September last, when I received the following letter from an old and very distinguished Canadian friend of mine, Principal Grant, the head of Kingston University, Ontario. (See note, page 23.)

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## 2 IMPERIAL FEDERATION

*"9th September, 1901.*

"Would it not be possible for you to visit Canada this autumn, or during the winter? Two dates suggest themselves. On October 15th, when the Duke and Duchess of York visit Kingston, and lay the foundation-stone of our new university building. On that occasion they also plant trees on the Campus; and perhaps you would kindly consent to plant a third. The other date is during the winter, when you might address meetings in Kingston, Ottawa, and Toronto, and attend the Annual Meeting of the British Empire League. On either occasion I trust that you would accept my hospitality and make 'Queen's' your head-quarters."

This unexpected invitation was certainly a startling one for me to receive one morning in my quiet autumn domicile, in this charming country retreat to which I had bent my steps for a brief period of rest and relaxation from my ordinary busy London

life. It naturally occasioned a passing flutter in my mind. It was undoubtedly very tempting.

But the thought of the undertaking was a serious one. The responsibility was great, and the domestic difficulties, of course, not a few.

In the course of a long life, and amid many wanderings in other lands, I had never crossed the Atlantic. At my age (considering all its attendant risks "by flood and field") would it be wise of me to accept it? And yet, if I boldly made up my mind to encounter them, and go, here was a golden opportunity of still working for a cause to which, as one of its pioneers, and as a leader in the movement, I had devoted so many years of my life.

Before coming to a decision on a question, to me, personally, so momentous, I indulged in some few hours of thought in order to weigh well all the "pro's" and "con's" regarding it. Among other things which



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occurred to me as having a bearing on the necessity of my availing myself of this unique and unexpected chance of aiding the cause, while still possessing health and strength to do so, was the recollection of my own prominent connection with it, and the memory of the time of those old, early days, when, in connection with my friends, the late Mr. Francis de Labilliere, and Mr. Edward Jenkins, we inaugurated the memorable Colonial Conferences at the Westminster Palace Hotel in the month of July 1871. In these conferences the germs of this question were sown, which subsequently bore the fruit of more concrete development. Again, I recollected how in the year 1876 I published a volume entitled "Imperial Federation," which I dedicated to my countrymen at home and beyond the seas, in which I had clearly and distinctly indicated the principle, which, in my opinion, should be accepted as the cardinal conception and bed-rock foundation of a federal

form of government for the British Empire. This principle was that it should comprise a fair and equitable representation of the self-governing Colonies, with adequate control and power in union with the home government, on all Imperial questions, constitutionally defined as distinct and apart from all local ones, which would be relegated to the local governments themselves, both British and Colonial, without interference with them by the Federal Government, as supreme, alone, on all subjects of Imperial and National policy. Then I reflected that long afterwards, in the year 1884, when the Imperial Federation League was formed, under the auspices of that great and noble-minded man, the late Right Hon. William Edward Forster, as its first chairman ; and when I was invited to become one of the vice-chairmen of the League, he did me the honour of saying, in supporting the nomination, "that he could not do without me, for through evil report and good report,

## 6 IMPERIAL FEDERATION

and, what was worse, no report at all, I had so strenuously supported the cause of Imperial Federation for so many years." And again, subsequently, as a prominent member of the Federation League (as long as it continued to exist), and up to the present time an equally active one of its successor, the British Empire League, all these reasons pressed strongly on my mind for my seizing this fresh opportunity of still championing the cause. So, after giving the matter mature thought, I felt that it seemed like an imperative call on me to avail myself of it, demanding my running all its attendant risks, and throwing aside all personal considerations in order to accomplish it. I therefore resolved to accept Principal Grant's kind and most complimentary invitation for the first date he suggested, so as to enable me to reach Kingston on the 15th of October, and I accordingly wrote to him to that effect.

Just before I left Hindhead a very sad

incident occurred which could not fail most deeply to impress me. I had been in correspondence while there with the Hon. Francis Lawley on a Colonial subject, a name well known in connection with the leading London Press, a friend of Mr. Gladstone's, a very charming and accomplished gentleman, whose acquaintance I had long had the pleasure of possessing.

Happening, in writing to him, incidentally to mention I was about to proceed to Canada, I received a letter from him in reply, from which the following is an extract, referring to my contemplated journey.

WOODLANDS, SIDCUP, KENT,

*17th Sept. 1901.*

"MY DEAR SIR FREDERICK,—Your most kind letter was received by me with enthusiastic gratitude, and put me in possession of the information for which I ventured to ask you.

. . . . .  
"Now for the great, the astounding piece of news about yourself and your contemplated

## 8 IMPERIAL FEDERATION

trip to Canada, which, I own, fairly took away my breath at first. So long as Mr. Gladstone lived I used to think that he, being sixteen years older than myself, not only stood like a buttress between myself and death, but that by his octogenarian achievements he 'elevated the plain of humanity.' With all deference I must now transfer the last five words of the preceding sentence to you. The courage and unselfishness with which you run a risk for that grand conception, 'Imperial Federation,' deserves to be hymned by such a poet as Abraham Cowley, whose lines upon 'Leviathan' Hobbs (the latter, I think, died in his hundredth year) always seem to me the finest threnody in the English language. Moreover, that you should go alone naturally increases my anxiety about you. But there is much also to raise my hope, that you will return safe and sound.

. . . . .

"With kindest regards, believe me, always  
yours faithfully, FRANCIS LAWLEY."

This letter, so touching and interesting to me, points the moral of the fearful uncertainty of life. To the writer the end was, alas! terribly sudden and tragic. It was written to me from his home on the evening of the 17th of September, reaching me on the morning of the 18th. It was probably the last letter he ever wrote. On that very day he was seized at his London office with an attack of internal hæmorrhage, caused by the rupture of an aneurism of the aorta. He was taken to King's College Hospital, and passed away soon after quite peacefully and without pain before any of his family at Sidcup could be in time to be with him at the last. I was of course deeply shocked when the news of his death reached me. — Here was a friend several years younger than myself, filled with a kind anxiety about me as to the personal result of my taking so bold a step as crossing the Atlantic on my way to Canada for the first time in my life, in the

## 10 IMPERIAL FEDERATION

midst of his own ordinary daily professional occupations, probably naturally not dreaming at the time he was writing to and thinking of me of his own death so fearfully near, cut down like a flower in a moment and vanishing from the world!

Such startling lessons should give us "pause" (whether they do or not), when we contemplate their appalling frequency, as we travel on in the journey of life.

Having made up my mind to accept Principal Grant's invitation, I lost no time in making the necessary preparations for crossing the Atlantic on my way to the Dominion. A few days sufficed to complete them. I engaged a saloon cabin on board the *Oceanic*, a splendid vessel belonging to the White Star Line, which was appointed to leave Liverpool for New York on Wednesday, the 2nd of October. On this day I accordingly embarked. For the next seven days I was carried over the

ocean in one of the most luxurious and comfortable vessels I had ever seen. A voyage across the Atlantic is now so constantly taken by countless multitudes of people, either on "business or pleasure bent," that, although in my own case it was an entire novelty to me (as I had never crossed the Atlantic ocean before), there were no incidents beyond the usual ones familiar enough to so many other voyagers, to record in this my new experience of the life on board one of the superb floating "hotels" which traverse the great western sea. The *Oceanic* is a magnificent vessel. She is most complete in all her arrangements. The management in all respects deserves the highest praise and commendation. A most skilful, careful, and courteous commander; a staff of the most civil and obliging officers, and a highly disciplined and competent crew; most attentive stewards and servants; a liberal and varied cuisine: all these details of an attractive and very perfect



## 12 IMPERIAL FEDERATION

administration contributed to make the voyage most pleasant and agreeable.

Fair weather, too, generally, added its share of comfort to the majority of the passengers. As I was among the number who did not suffer from sea-sickness, I was able to make my appearance at table at every meal during the whole voyage, to which we were always summoned by the musical sound of the bugle. This of course is not the case with many other passengers less fortunate in this respect than myself. We encountered a certain amount of rough weather, which of course imparted some motion to even such a huge fabric as the *Oceanic*, and we duly experienced the very disagreeable sensation, which it seems impossible to escape, from the proximity of Newfoundland, whose fogs enveloped us for one or two days and greatly interfered with our progress. We reached New York at mid-day on Wednesday the 9th of October, exactly one week after starting from Liverpool.

What a wonderful freight of human beings a vessel like the *Oceanic* is capable of carrying. On the present voyage we had altogether about 1340 passengers of all classes, of whom 390 were in the saloon. In addition, there was the crew of about 500 all told, making 1840 souls on board. It is indeed a startling fact to reflect upon, to think of such a vast number of people in a single vessel, traversing the ocean for several days, subject to the continual casualties to which "those who go down to the sea in ships" are liable. Of course, as in our case, they are usually carried safely; but an awful vision will occasionally flash across the mind, either by day, or, worse, by night, while one is ploughing the pathless waters at railroad speed, in case of any mishap occurring which might possibly send every soul on board to the bottom. But it does not do to give way to such thoughts. The risk is unquestionable, but the trust, also, in Providence must be undoubted and supreme.

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To me the voyage passed off very agreeably, as I met several pleasant companions, both English and American, among my fellow-passengers. On reaching New York the usual tremendous bustle, excitement, noise, clamour, and confusion consequent on the arrival at the wharf of a large passenger vessel occurred. Every one was absorbed in looking out for and after his or her own things only, amidst an indescribable babble of tongues and the incessant noise of rattling luggage of all sorts, kinds, and descriptions being hoisted out of the hold which assailed one on every side. After a long time I managed to find in the high shed to which we were all relegated my own "impedimenta," part of which I placed in bond, to be forwarded direct under the Customs' seal to me at Kingston, where I expected to arrive a few days hence, to wait my arrival there. The rest I had duly examined and passed, and put, with myself, into a cab, to be conveyed to the Hotel Manhattan.

A rather long drive through several of the wide, straight streets of this bustling commercial city brought me to this very fine hotel, where I passed the rest of the day and the succeeding night. My very cursory view of New York during my drive to the hotel could only of course be extremely partial and superficial. Two things, however, struck me, in addition to the impression which must be immediately conveyed to the mind of every one who sees (for the first time) this wonderfully bustling city. These are the extraordinary height of the houses and the marvellous length of the streets.

Having the opportunity during a second brief visit of traversing the principal streets of the Central Avenues, I was much impressed with the splendid shops and the attractive exhibition of the beautiful wares and fabrics displayed in them, rivalling, if not actually surpassing, many of the finest

## 16 IMPERIAL FEDERATION

in Paris and London. I was also very much struck with the superiority of the street tramcars, as well as their great convenience. They traverse the city in every direction. They are much larger than our own, and have a capacity for holding quite forty people at a time.

The wealth of New York must be enormous. The signs of energetic life, commercial activity, and progress are apparent in every direction. The architecture of the city does not strike a casual traveller, however, as attractive. Gigantic blocks of buildings perpetually meet the eye, with no pretensions to picturesqueness or beauty. Plain, solid, heavy structures, without ornament, tower skywards everywhere.

The Manhattan Hotel is a very fine one, and of great capacity, like so many others in New York. It is splendidly decorated and furnished throughout. I found it replete with every comfort, and

I can therefore strongly recommend it. It is situated in Forty - Second Street, close to the Great Central Railway, which is a great convenience.

On the morning of the 10th of October I left the Manhattan Hotel by the 8.45 train for Buffalo. It was so misty and foggy when we started from New York that I was afraid a disappointment was in store for me, as it is everything to be able to see the Hudson River on a fine day, especially at this time of the year, when the lovely autumn tints of the beautiful foliage are in full bloom. Luckily, however, the day soon cleared, and I thoroughly enjoyed the charm of the railway ride all the way to Albany, as the line skirts the shores for the entire distance, 160 miles from New York. The Hudson River is sometimes disparagingly compared with the Rhine on account of the absence of the picturesqueness and poetic beauty of the latter's time-worn castles, which contain so

## 18 IMPERIAL FEDERATION

many romantic tales of folk-lore and ancient history. The scenery certainly very much resembles the Rhine, but the Hudson is so much broader and finer a river that it does not really lose by the comparison.

The country from Albany to Buffalo is flat and tame, but it is evidently a rich and highly cultivated pastoral and agricultural district. This valley of the Hudson River is a great source of supply of butter and cheese for the New York markets. I reached Buffalo, after a long journey of 450 miles, about seven o'clock in the evening, and at once proceeded to the Iroquois Hotel, where I had engaged a room for the night, and then, without loss of time, I took a seat in one of the tramcars in which I went on to the Buffalo Exhibition Buildings in order to see them at night, when they are brilliantly illuminated by electricity. They are about four or five miles out of the town. The spectacle was certainly a very striking one. The various

buildings (several of them having lofty domes) were lighted to the very top, distinctly marking their outlines in the midst of the dark, surrounding atmosphere. The effect was beautiful, and quite fairy-like when seen, as I saw it, on a fine and clear night. This exhibition was not an international one ; it was entirely and exclusively American. In the music hall I saw the spot where President M'Kinley was murdered a few weeks ago. The place was fenced round, and there was a brass star marked on the spot where he was standing when he received the fatal shot from his dastardly assassin. I wandered into several of the various courts afterwards, and took special notice of some of the cutlery shops. I was much impressed with the admirable finish and beautiful appearance of the knives, scissors, &c., all of which seemed to me to be attractive enough to the eye. I have been told that the quality of the steel is not so good as the English. This, of course, I had no



## 20 IMPERIAL FEDERATION

opportunity of testing. But, however this may be, I saw quite sufficient to prove to me the dangerous character of the competition in various articles of trade between ourselves and our most energetic, shrewd, and clever commercial rivals of the United States of America. I returned to the Iroquois Hotel for the night about eleven o'clock.

The next morning I left Buffalo at 10.30 for Toronto, stopping on my way for a few hours at Niagara to see the far-famed falls. Lord Houghton (in one of his soliloquies), paraphrasing the expression, "See Naples and die," said, "See Niagara and die."<sup>1</sup> Well, I, too, have seen Niagara and still live to say so. It is indeed a glorious and astounding sight. On the day I visited this celebrated spot, bright sunshine added to the beauty and impression of it. The

<sup>1</sup> "Pilgrimage to the West." Lord Houghton was greatly impressed by the awe-inspiring vision of Niagara. See "Sir Wemyss Reid's Life."

mind of the visitor is astonished who beholds this magnificent mass of water ceaselessly pouring over the precipice down to the abyss below, with thundering noise and vaporous mist, from eternity to eternity of the world's creation and duration.

Passing through a pretty, picturesque, park-like garden, I came to the banks of the river. A few minutes afterwards I saw the top of the mighty and far-famed fall. The noise of the rushing waters is terrific. This is on the American side. After viewing the wondrous scene I descended to the bottom of the fall by a sliding car, constructed in a covered way erected for that purpose, and embarked on board the little steamer, *The Maid of the Mist*. About twenty or thirty people were with me. We were all duly clothed in heavy, black oilskins, with black hoods over our heads. These made us look (men and women) like monks and nuns of some Roman Catholic order. In a cloud of

## 22 IMPERIAL FEDERATION

wetting mist the steamer rapidly proceeded to the head of the Horseshoe Fall on the Canadian side. This is the finest part. The view of the fall looking up from the bottom is very grand. From this spot the prodigious mass of moving water is magnificent. It being a sunny day I was fortunate enough to see "a double rainbow," which is not always visible, and which adds to the picturesqueness of the scene from an artistic point of view. In about an hour we were again landed, and I ascended in the car to the summit and made my way to the railway station, whence I resumed my journey to Toronto.

On my arrival I found Toronto in a state of most tremendous bustle and excitement, in consequence of the arrival there the day before of the Duke and Duchess of York. I had the utmost difficulty in getting a small room for the night in the Queen's Hotel, in spite of having previously written to engage one. Several of the Royal suite

were located in the hotel, among them being my old acquaintance, Canon Dalton, C.M.G.

The next morning I left the Queen's Hotel for Kingston, which was my destination, until after the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York to that city on the following Tuesday, the 15th of October.

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NOTE.—It is with the deepest regret that I received the sad intelligence of the death of Principal Grant, who died at Kingston on May 10, whilst these pages were passing through the press.

## CHAPTER II

### KINGSTON

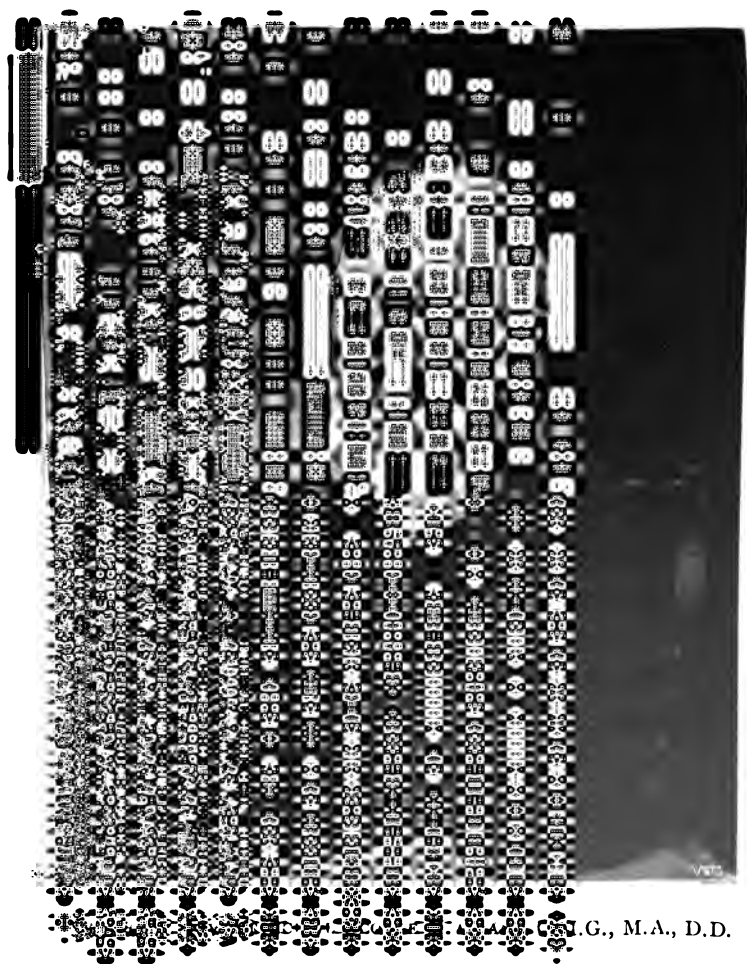
THE town of Kingston, otherwise known as "the limestone city," is situated on the Cataraqui River at a point where the river St. Lawrence leaves Lake Ontario. With its grey stone batteries and martello towers this very interesting town occupies a commanding situation, with a spacious harbour protected by islands from the storms of Lake Ontario. Its past history is of more than ordinary interest, for as long ago as 1683 Count Frontenac, one of the most renowned of the governors of New France, established a fort where Kingston now stands, and assigned the command to the Chevalier de la Salle, whose name will ever be identified with the history of the town. The fort was the scene of many severe

encounters between the French and the Iroquois Indians, and was captured and destroyed by the latter, but in 1695 was restored by Frontenac, who returned and superseded M. de Dionville, the successor of de la Salle. For many years after Fort Frontenac was forgotten, and it was not until the end of the American revolution that it again came into prominence, when a party of United Empire Loyalists selected the site for a settlement, and named it Kingston.

During the war of 1812 Kingston was considered the strongest Canadian post on Lake Ontario, and became the rendezvous and arsenal of the British naval force there. It also has an interesting political history, for when Upper Canada was erected into a province Governor Simcoe was sworn into office at Kingston, and when Upper and Lower Canada were united in 1840 Kingston was selected as the seat of government, and the first parliament met in the

## 26 IMPERIAL FEDERATION

building now occupied by the City Hospital. Only for a brief period did the town occupy this distinction, as four years later the government and its officials left the "limestone city," and it relapsed once more into a quiet and seldom heard of town. The energy of its citizens, however, was too great to allow such a state of affairs to long exist, and Kingston once again emerged from its state of lethargy and entered upon a new era of prosperity. At the present time it is a town of much commercial importance, being the outlet for the traffic of the Rideau Canal, and possesses locomotive and shipbuilding works and other manufacturing. It is the seat of the University of Queen's College, one of the leading centres of learning in the Dominion of Canada, which is so ably presided over by Principal G. M. Grant, and the home of the Royal Military College—the Woolwich of Canada—which has supplied the Imperial army with many distinguished and capable





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officers. Among the buildings worthy of notice are the City Hall, the Lunatic Asylum, the Post Office, the Provincial Penitentiary, all of which occupy prominent positions in the town, and clearly demonstrate the up-to-date and energetic character of the inhabitants. The streets are planted with trees, and the town, which contains 18,043 inhabitants, is provided with several well-appointed hotels.

I reached Kingston about four o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday the 12th, and found Principal Grant's son and Mr. John M'Intyre, K.C., at the railway station, with the latter of whom I had been invited to stay; and by whom, and by his excellent wife and daughter, I was most hospitably received and entertained while at Kingston. This arrangement was necessitated in consequence of the sudden serious and dangerous illness of Principal Grant, which prevented his receiving me, as he had fully intended, at the Kingston University.

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His illness cast a sad shadow over the function of the 15th, and was the occasion of universal sorrow among all his friends (of whom I count myself one), and generally among the inhabitants of the Dominion as well as of Kingston, by whom he was so widely known and highly esteemed.

The next two days I passed quietly under the roof of my kind friends, the M'Intyres, visiting various places and spots of interest in this fine town. Every one of course was on the tiptoe of expectation for the grand function of Tuesday the 15th inst. Preparations were being made in all directions for giving a right royal welcome to the august visitors, and the streets of Kingston were being handsomely decorated for this purpose. All that was wanted, and earnestly looked for, was a fine day for the reception.

The day before, Monday the 14th inst., among other places of interest, including the University itself, I went over the College Hospital, which contains beds for 128

patients. At this time Principal Grant was one of them. I was conducted over the hospital by Miss Fawss, the matron, a very nice, clever, and pleasantly speaking woman. I was much pleased with all its arrangements. A special attraction is the charm of its situation, close to the shore of Lake Ontario, which makes its site an admirably healthy one for a hospital. The wards are airy, and the nursing staff of ladies, dressed in white robes and red sleeves, give a bright and cheerful look to them. In the course of my promenade through the wards I met one of the principal doctors, Dr. Anglin, who invited me to accompany him to the operating-room, where a large number of the students were assembled for a lecture. At Dr. Anglin's urgent request I was obliged to make a little impromptu speech to them. In the course of it I managed to give a little patriotic ring to my small address by reminding them that we were all Britons, a sentiment which was received with great

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cheering and applause. This was an unexpected preliminary opportunity given me for ventilating and proving the principal reason for my being in Canada in connection with Imperial Federation. At the request of Dr. Anglin I wrote a letter to Canon Dalton, asking him if he could manage to induce H.R.H. the Duke of York to pay a brief visit to Principal Grant, if only for a few moments' duration, the next day, although it was not on the official programme. If it could be done it would be most deeply appreciated, not only by the poor Principal himself but by all the inhabitants of Kingston.

The next day, Tuesday, the 15th of October, was one to be marked in the annals of Kingston with a white stone. To me, also, it was a great and eventful one. It was an ideal day. The weather was beautiful. At eleven o'clock I started for the University. Here, on the temporary

platform erected to receive their Royal Highnesses, the Duke and Duchess of York, I stood by special invitation, surrounded by the various professors, to several of whom I was introduced. The first arrivals were Lord and Lady Minto, the Governor-General of Canada and his wife. Then came the Premier of the Dominion, Sir Wilfred Laurier, and other Ministers, the Mayor, and other notabilities of Kingston. With an appropriate military escort the Duke and Duchess made their appearance soon afterwards. They were both most affable and gracious. Among others, I had the honour of being presented to their Royal Highnesses and of their shaking hands with me. The Chancellor of the University, fully robed (my old and esteemed friend, Sir Sandford Fleming), then read the address to His Royal Highness, welcoming him to Kingston to receive the distinction of the honour which had been conferred upon him, of a LL.D. by the

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Senate of the University. In this address a high personal compliment was paid to me by a reference to my having come so far in order to be present on this interesting occasion. The Duke, attired in his doctor's robe, afterwards laid the first stone of the New University Buildings, with the customary silver trowel.

The next stage in the programme of the proceedings was a visit to the Royal Military College. On driving towards it I passed the tree in the campus of the University which was intended to be planted by their Royal Highnesses in commemoration of their eventful visit to Kingston. They were, however, so pressed for time that their carriage could only be stopped for the purpose of inspecting it and theoretically planting it. I learned afterwards from Sir Sandford Fleming that I was especially deputed, with himself, by His Royal Highness to perform the actual ceremony of the tree-planting on his behalf. This I

accordingly did, taking a spade in my hand and throwing into the hole the traditional shovelful of earth, which received the roots of a fine young maple-tree to commemorate this memorable event in the history of the University.

At the Military College I witnessed a first-rate performance of gymnastic exercises by a large squadron of fine athletic recruits. One of the English officers present remarked to me that he thought it was better done than at Sandhurst. As I was standing behind the chairs on which the Duke and Duchess were sitting, the Duke turned round to me and begged me to sit down, which, at His Royal Highness's command, I accordingly did, and sat with the royal visitors until the gymnastic performance ended. They afterwards went over the college, and on finally leaving, the Duke, shaking hands with me, thanked me again for my presence on this occasion.

I was pleased and happy to learn to-day



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from Canon Dalton, who, as one of the royal suite, was present, that my letter to him had resulted in the Duke of York paying a personal visit to Principal Grant at the hospital on his way to the University this morning, and that His Royal Highness had given him at his bedside (sent from the King) a case containing the order of the C.M.G., which was intended to be presented to him at the University during to-day's ceremony. As, of course, this private visit, so kind and thoughtful on the part of His Royal Highness, was not on the official programme, I felt much gratified that my suggestion had been so generously complied with. I know Principal Grant was deeply affected by His Royal Highness's condescension, and most grateful to him for it.

Thus closed a memorable day for Kingston, in the interesting proceedings of which I had taken an active part, and which was the especial opportunity afforded me of paying this important visit to the Dominion ;

and giving me another and fresh opportunity of putting before the Canadian public in the course of it, my opinions and earnest convictions on the great national question of Imperial Federation. It was a wonderful event in my life to have been privileged to witness that day. As long as I live I can never forget it. The splendid British Empire tour of the Duke and Duchess of York was drawing rapidly to a close, after the most remarkable and unique historical experiences in the world-wide domain over which they will, at some distant day, be called upon to rule in the Great Britain at home, and the Greater Britain beyond the seas.

In the annals of the city of Kingston the events of that day were so remarkable, as well as historical, that I avail myself of the courteous opportunity which has been afforded me by the Chancellor of the University, Sir Sandford Fleming, of republishing the account of the proceedings,

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which was issued in the November number of the *Queen's University Journal*, the motto of whose seal is *Sapientia et Doctrina Stabilitas*, published by the Alma Mater Society of Queen's University, Kingston.

I extract it as follows :—

### “THE ROYAL VISIT

“A fortnight's hard work, much disorganisation of classes, a good deal of expense, half-an-hour of splendour, and then—all over. Is this the best way to look at the recent visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and York? Surely not. Even though they themselves are gone, the memory of their gracious presence remains with us and will be a possession for ever, to which we can look back in later years. Not only is it true that—

‘One crowded hour of glorious life  
Is worth an age without a name,’

but also the influence which such a scene must have upon the tender and immature minds of the freshmen and freshettes, and even upon the more hardened understandings of those of mature years, cannot be overestimated.

“When it was decided that we were to be favoured by a visit from our future King and Queen, the suitable preparations for receiving them were placed in the hands of the University Council, and the following committees were appointed :—

“INVITATIONS COMMITTEE. Professor Goodwin (Convener), the Chancellor, Professor Watson, the Registrar, Messrs. F. King, W. L. Grant, and J. M. Mowat.

“DECORATION COMMITTEE. Miss Saunders (Convener), Professor Watson, Professor Dyde, Dr. A. T. Drummond, Mr. W. L. Grant.

“Messrs. J. J. Harpell, D. S. Noble, and J. H. Laidlaw were delegates from the Alma Mater Society to the meeting of Council and

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were made members of both committees. All did their best, for it was felt that in the absence of the Principal an extra effort would be necessary to uphold the honour and good reputation of the University; special mention must be made of the work done by the Chancellor, Professor Goodwin, the Registrar, Mr. King, and, above all, by Miss Saunders, to whom is due the whole credit for the decorations. Mr. Symons, who was in the city superintending the erection of the new buildings, was unwearied in his efforts, and a word of praise must be given also to the contractors, Messrs. Sullivan and Langdon, and Messrs. Wilmot and Davis, who in every way did their utmost and showed that the Queen's spirit infects even those who come but indirectly into contact with it.

"But neither Council nor contractors showed either the zeal or the efficiency of the students. From the moment the Alma Mater was notified that its help would be

necessary, nothing could exceed the spirit with which all entered into the work. It would be unfair to mention names. Every member of every committee did his work, and more than his work, and when the day itself came, the behaviour of the general body of students showed that self-government is the best of all governments. The committees appointed by the A.M.S. were as follows :—

“DECORATIONS. A. G. Mackinnon, B.A., '03, Divinity ; G. R. Shibley, M.A. ; R. A. Wilson, '00, Arts ; T. H. Billings, '01, Arts ; E. C. Twitchell, '02, Arts ; J. Macdonnell, '04, Arts ; W. W. McKinley, '03, Med. ; W. T. Sheriff, '03, Med. ; A. K. Connolly, '04, Med. ; R. Patterson, '05, Sci. ; W. Gordonier, '03, Sci.

“SONGS. The Musical Committee of the A.M.S., the Glee Club, the Banjo Club.

“RECEPTION COMMITTEE. *Ladies' Platform.*  
—O. N. Scott, '01, Sci., Convener ; J. A. Donnell, '01, Arts ; J. N. Stanley, M.A. ;

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W. J. MacInnes, '02, Arts ; J. M. Young, '02, Arts ; J. W. Merrill, B.A., '02, Med.

*Main Platform.*—J. F. Sparks, B.A., '04, Med., and H. Mackerras, '04, Med., Conveners ; W. W. Maclaren, M.A., '02, Div. ; Logie Macdonnell, '01, Arts ; J. J. Harpell, '01, Arts ; G. F. Dalton, B.A., '02, Med. ; E. Sheffield, B.A., '02, Med. ; L. W. Jones, '02, Med. ; J. Wallace, M.A., B.D. *Grounds.*

—G. B. MacIennan, B.A., '04, Div. ; J. McEachern, '01, Arts ; L. K. Bolton, '02, Arts ; A. Kennedy, M.A. ; R. W. Magee, '02, Arts ; A. D. Mackinnon, '04, Arts ; C. H. Maclaren, '02, Arts ; H. D. Borley, '02, Arts ; J. H. Laidlaw, B.A., '03, Med. ; H. C. Windell, B.A., '02, Med. ; W. W. McKinley, '03, Med. ; J. K. Dawson, '03, Med. ; A. D. Falkner, '04, Med. ; C. S. VanNess, '04, Med. ; M. E. Branscombe, '04, Med. ; J. T. Hill, '04, Med. ; F. Etherington, '02, Med. ; M. Ferguson, '02, Sci. ; B. Tett, '03, Sci. ; D. S. Noble, '03, Sci. ; E. T. Corkill, '04, Sci. ; W. Lawlor, '02, Arts.

"The occasion of the visit of His Royal Highness was to honour alike the University and himself by accepting from the hands of the Chancellor the degree of LL.D., and to show his appreciation of the work which Queen's has done, by laying the foundation-stone of the new Arts building presented by the citizens of Kingston.

"The day dawned bright and clear, one of those typical autumn days which can be seen in their perfection nowhere out of Canada. The clerk of the weather, who had been so ungracious in Toronto, showed that he did not always favour the big battalions, and gave us a day which displayed the University and its grounds in their full beauty. Looking back to 1878, one could not but be struck by the difference. The present writer, though then of tender years, distinctly remembers suggesting to the Principal, at the time of the visit of the Princess Louise, that it would be well to dismiss a



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few of the professors and employ some extra gardeners. Now, however, thanks to the care and attention of Dr. Drummond, the grounds were not unworthy of the presence of royalty itself.

“At the main entrance an arch of maple leaves had been erected, designed by Miss Saunders and Mr. Symons, and erected in great part by the Decoration Committee of the A.M.S. It formed a far more unique and typical ornament than could have been framed from any quantity of bunting, and was much admired both by the Duke and Duchess, and by the visiting Press, who expressed the opinion that no one arch in either Toronto or Montreal equalled it in beauty and symmetry. The doorway of the new building is in the form of a deep arch, copied from one of the most celebrated churches in southern France, and forms a natural alcove, easy and effective to decorate. Carpeted with the royal red, and over-arched with the grand old blue,

red, and yellow, it formed a fit scene for the ceremony. Outside this alcove was erected a platform, the central part reserved for the royal couple and their attendants, the sides for the distinguished guests of the University. In front a blank space, sixty feet in width, was roped off; the rope was lined by the students, who wore streamers of the college colours, and behind them the campus offered ample accommodation for the citizens. A special stand had been erected for ladies, with the central rows reserved for lady students. These were present in cap and gown one hundred strong, and while we will not imitate the Toronto papers and speak of 'serried ranks of youthful beauty,' we may say with confidence that they were not the least striking feature of the ceremony, an opinion in which, if what we have heard be true, His Royal Highness fully coincided. The reception committee, also in cap and gown, did their work so thoroughly that at no time was there the least sign of

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confusion. Mortar-boards being at a premium, and bare heads in October being dangerous, the lady students, with characteristic energy, made mortar-boards not only for themselves, but for the ushers. It is said that their unit of measurement was the head of a celebrated honour student of Classics, which perhaps accounts for the fact that some of the others were compelled to fill up the deficiency with handkerchiefs.

“The stands were occupied by some six hundred guests from the city and county, of whom the following were the chief: the Board of Trustees, with their wives and daughters; the various faculties of the University, with their wives and daughters; the University Council, with their wives; the Board of Governors and the Faculty of the School of Mining, with their wives; the City Council, with their wives; the Clergy of the city of Kingston, and of the county of Frontenac, with their wives; the graduates

of the University, chiefly those in the city ; the Reception Committee of the city, with their wives ; the Warden of the County of Frontenac, the County Clerk and County Council, with their wives ; the reeves and township clerks, the township councillors of the county of Frontenac ; representatives of the chief educational Institutions of Ontario and Quebec ; the remaining officials of the University.

“It had originally been intended to reserve the central space for the royal party and their escort, but later on it was wisely decided to admit to it a certain number of University and civic officials, among whom the following were present: the Chancellor, Professor Watson, Professor Ross, Professor Dupuis, Professor Goodwin, Dr. Fife Fowler, Dr. Sullivan, the Mayor of Kingston, the Warden of the County of Frontenac, Mr. John M'Intyre, Mr. George Macdonnell, the Registrar, the Librarian, Dr. Thompson of Sarnia, Judge

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Britton, Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., and others.

“At the last moment some malicious person started a report that the workmen strongly objected to the stone being laid by the Duke, owing to his being a non-union man. The rumour, however, proved unfounded, the Duke’s high position in the Masonic order being, perhaps, considered sufficient guarantee that he would not cut rates.

“At 11.15 the guard of honour, consisting of 100 men from the Fourteenth P.W.O.R. regiment, under the command of Captain Strange, marched to their position in front of the platform. Soon afterwards appeared a carriage containing Lord and Lady Minto and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. No signs appeared of the royal couple, but our doubts were solved by the registrar, who, coming forward to the front of the platform, announced in his best manner that His Royal Highness had delayed for a few moments to visit the Principal in the

hospital. It was a gracious act, quite unpremeditated, and its announcement drew rounds of cheers from all assembled. Sir Wilfrid was followed to the platform by Judge Britton. 'He's got more hair than you, Wilfy,' shouted an irreverent student, and the crowd cheered loudly. Then a carriage drove up, and a buzz arose from the crowd. 'There he is.' 'No, he isn't.' 'I tell you it is.' A moment's uncertainty, and then, hat in hand, Dr. Barclay opened the carriage door and out stepped George, Duke of Cornwall and York, destined one day to be in all likelihood King of Great Britain and Ireland, and Sovereign of the British dominions beyond the seas. As his foot touched the ground the Royal Standard was run up to the top of a tall flagstaff by the President of the A.M.S., and fluttered gaily in the autumn breeze. The original intention had been to present the degree upon the platform in front, which had been specially carpeted for the purpose ; the ducal

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suite and the chief dignitaries of the college were to have clustered in the background, thus throwing the ceremony out into greater relief. At the last moment, however, it was considered unwise to expose His Royal Highness to the eager air, and the alcove in rear was selected as the scene. However necessary for the comfort of the Duke, this change was distinctly unfortunate from the point of view of those upon the platform, and still more for those behind the rope, as the escort in front concealed the ceremony from all, save twenty or thirty, to such an extent that the members of the Press, whose seats had been chosen under the old arrangement, left before the ceremony was concluded.

“Within the alcove was placed a table, covered with red, and upon it the Domesday-book of the University. The royal couple having taken their places to the right of the Chancellor, and their Excellencies to the left, the Chaplain, Professor Ross, Dean of the Theological Faculty, opened the

proceedings with the Lord's Prayer in Latin. Addressing their Royal Highnesses the Chancellor then said :—

“‘On behalf of this seat of learning it is my high privilege to convey to your Royal Highness and Her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cornwall and York a message of genuine welcome.

“‘Queen's University, always true in allegiance to the Throne and Empire, has profound satisfaction in being favoured with this royal visit.

“‘Amidst the general rejoicing, within and without, Convocation is opened with a regret which I cannot hide. The leading spirit of the University is prostrated by serious illness, and it is a grievous disappointment to all that Principal Grant is not with us to-day. I have come from the patient's bedside and I promised to express his very deep regret that he should be absolutely debarred from being present on an occasion to which he had looked forward with so much pride and



hope. We have not before us the familiar form of our much esteemed Principal, and we cannot hear his well-known voice, but we have the assurance that he is with us in spirit, and we are encouraged to hope that under a merciful Providence his strength will be regained and a life of singular unselfishness and great public usefulness continued.

“ ‘The Principal being absent, I ask the Vice-Principal to read a minute of the Senate.’

“Professor Watson then read as follows :—

“ ‘Mr. Chancellor,—The Senate of the University of Queen’s College learning that in the course of his journey through the Empire His Royal Highness the Duke of Cornwall and York would visit Canada, and while there would pass through the ancient city of Kingston, unanimously resolved to request His Royal Highness to accept at their hands the degree of Doctor of Laws.

“ ‘Nearly seventy years ago the first steps were taken by the Presbyterian Church in Canada to found this University, and when,

in the year 1841, it was finally incorporated by a royal charter, issued by our late revered and beloved Queen, her gracious Majesty herself gave it the name of "The University of Queen's College."

"During the sixty years of its history the University has made great and steady progress, and while its expansion has necessitated many changes, the University has remained true to the ideal of education, combining reverence with free inquiry, by which its founders were inspired.

"This University has been favoured by repeated acts of royal beneficence, in the form of gifts from our late sovereign, Queen Victoria, and likewise from His Royal Highness' illustrious father, King Edward the Seventh. Forty-one years ago, when, as Prince of Wales, he visited this portion of his dominions, his Majesty was graciously pleased to endow the University with an annual scholarship for the greater encouragement of learning, which has ever since

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been known as the Prince of Wales' scholarship.

“In the year 1879 Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise was graciously pleased to visit the University, together with her husband, the most noble the Marquis of Lorne, then Governor-General of Canada. By the illustrious visitors were laid the foundation-stones of the adjoining building, and Her Royal Highness left a memorial of her gracious presence by planting a tree, which is now one of the chief ornaments of our grounds.

“Every succeeding Governor-General of the Dominion has been pleased to extend his patronage and his munificence to this seat of learning.

“Although originally established by the Presbyterian Church, which was forced by the condition of the country to add to its other functions that of the care of education, the University has from the first opened its doors to all on equal terms, whatever their

religious creed, and at the close of the last century proceedings were initiated with the view of making the constitution of the University as broad and undenominational as its practice had ever been. The University is thus a gift, a unique and magnificent gift from the Presbyterian Church in Canada to the whole people of the Dominion.

“ Within the past year the city of Kingston, recognising the great value of the work done by the University and the broad and liberal spirit by which it is guided, has, with the active good-will of all classes and creeds, voted the sum of \$50,000 for the erection of the building now in progress, whose corner-stone their Royal Highnesses have been graciously pleased to consent to place in position.

“ At the beginning of the first session of a new century the University has entered upon a new stage in its history. We rejoice at the happy concurrence of circumstances to which we owe the presence of His Royal

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Highness and his illustrious Consort at our entrance upon this new epoch, and we offer for the acceptance of His Royal Highness the highest honour which the University, in virtue of its royal charter, is privileged to bestow.

“ ‘Our Domesday-book contains the annals of a seat of learning which has always cherished the tradition of loyalty to the British Crown. The first volume has closed with the century. The second volume will most fittingly open with a record of the proceedings on this auspicious occasion, and the Senate feels that the signature of His Royal Highness, affixed as an Honorary Graduate to the opening page, will ever be regarded with pride and satisfaction.’

“ The Chancellor then turned to His Royal Highness, who had listened to the reading of the minute with marked attention, and conferred upon him the degree in the following words:—

“ ‘In the name of the University and by virtue of our royal charter I confer on your

Royal Highness, George, Duke of Cornwall and York, the degree of Doctor of Laws.

“‘It will be a high pleasure and a pride to me and to the whole University to point to the roll in which will be inscribed the name of our most illustrious graduate, the son of our Sovereign, His Majesty the King.’

“Turning to the members of Convocation, the Chancellor proceeded :—

“‘His Royal Highness has been graciously pleased to accept the invitation to place in position the corner-stone of this building, one of three buildings in process of erection for the University during the present year. Permit me to say that there are many persons in this assembly gathered from all parts to witness the proceedings. One gentleman has even crossed the Atlantic on the special invitation of the Principal for the express purpose of being present on this auspicious occasion. I refer to Sir

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Frederick Young, Vice-President of the Royal Colonial Institute, an association which for twenty-five years has been presided over by His Majesty when Prince of Wales. No man has so long taken a keener interest than Sir Frederick in all that concerns the King's possessions beyond the seas. I could mention many others if time permitted. I shall only name one other gentleman, his worship Mayor Kent, who represents in his official capacity all the people of Kingston.

“ ‘The minute just read points out that the people of Kingston of all creeds and classes have with remarkable unanimity voted \$50,000 for the erection of this building. When completed it will not only testify to the friendly relationship which exists and which always has existed between “Town and Gown,” but the building will prove a lasting memorial of the enlightened liberality of the citizens of Kingston.

“ ‘The corner-stone to be laid will likewise

become a permanent memorial. It will commemorate the royal visit to Kingston and to Canada. Throughout the trans-continental tour, now drawing to a close, their Royal Highnesses have everywhere been received with rejoicing. While from ocean to ocean they have found evidences of the strongest attachment to the British crown, nowhere have loving greetings been warmer than those of the University. We thank God for the success which has followed the illustrious travellers. Our earnest prayer is that the future will bring many blessings and crown the royal visitors with the fullest measure of prosperity.'

"His Royal Highness responded as follows :—

"'Mr. Chancellor—I have given the Duchess and me very great pleasure to pay this visit to the Queen's University, and I shall have much satisfaction in laying the first stone of its new Arts building on this the first day of my membership, and in being



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associated with the extension of its buildings made necessary by its rapidly increasing work. As you have already mentioned, owing to the serious illness of the honoured Principal he is not present. I am happy to say, however, that we have just visited him. We trust, as I know you all do, that he will be very soon restored to health. I value highly the honour you have conferred upon me. The Dominion has advanced wonderfully in educational matters. It was a wise and far-seeing policy to establish many seats of learning. I am glad to learn that our University is carrying most successfully its share in this work of placing higher education and culture within the reach of all. I shall always follow with much interest the career of this University and its students.'

"The Librarian then handed a silver pen to His Royal Highness, who inscribed his name on the first page of the new volume; Her Royal Highness followed, and on the

next page Lord and Lady Minto, with another pen, added their signatures. The pen used by H.R.H. was subsequently presented to the Librarian by the Chancellor. Convocation was then closed by all present singing 'God save the King.'

"The Chancellor, in announcing that the corner-stone would be laid, asked His Royal Highness if he would be graciously pleased to accept a trowel for the purpose, and presented to him a silver trowel with ivory handle, on which were engraved the arms of the University and the following inscription: 'The corner-stone of the new Arts Building, Queen's University, Canada. Laid October 15th, 1901, by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cornwall and York.' The Duke then rubbed several dabs of mortar well into the crevice between the stones, and in a clear voice announced: 'I declare this stone is well and truly laid.' The Duke and Duchess then entered into conversation with several of those upon

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the platform, more especially with Senator Sullivan and the Chancellor, and made numerous inquiries regarding the different faculties. Both readily agreed to assist in planting a commemorative tree in the grounds, and were escorted by the Chancellor to the place chosen, who was thus enabled to point out to them the Royal Standard waving over the tree planted in 1897 by Lady Aberdeen in honour of Queen Victoria. The new royal tree is placed in front of the main building, between trees already planted by Lord Lansdowne and Lord Derby when Governors-General. Owing to the limited time at their disposal, the royal pair permitted the conclusion of the ceremony to be performed by the Chancellor and Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G., acting as their representatives. Then the carriage vanished through the maple boughs and our glimpse of royalty was over."

Wednesday, the 16th day of October, was

the last day of my stay at Kingston. It was a pouring wet day. The rain continued piteously and unceasingly all day long. Everybody congratulated themselves that the function of yesterday was performed under the favourable auspices of a bright sky. To-day's bad weather would have sadly marred the success of the whole ceremony.

At 10.30 A.M. I went by appointment to Principal Grant's house at the University, and called on Sir Sandford Fleming, who was staying there prior to his return to Ottawa. We walked over to the hospital, and saw Principal Grant, who was up from his bed in a chair for the first time. Though of course still very weak, he looked better than I expected to see him, and seemed delighted to see me. I stayed with him for about half-an-hour. In bidding him farewell I said I should pray to God for his recovery. His life is an invaluable one to the Kingston University.

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Accompanied by Sir Sandford Fleming, I afterwards again went over the University. There are now about eight hundred graduates there. In passing through the fine library, of which a very clever and accomplished woman, Miss Saunders, is the Librarian, another gratifying surprise, as well as a very great compliment, was paid to me. Sir Sandford Fleming asked Miss Saunders to bring the "New Roll of the University Charter for the Twentieth Century" to him. This is a splendid volume of large dimensions, beautifully bound in royal crimson morocco and gold. The previous day I saw the Duke and Duchess of York affix their signatures on the first blank page of "The Roll." I was then informed that that page was to be kept for their Royal Highnesses' signatures alone. It will therefore be imagined that my surprise was very great indeed when the Chancellor invited me to write my own name on the same page with those of their Royal Highnesses. This

I accordingly did, and I believe it will remain without any other. It stands thus :—

GEORGE.

VICTORIA MARY.

FREDERICK YOUNG.

The rest of the day was passed in paying farewell visits to friends, at a large luncheon party at Mrs. Grant's, and a dinner at Mr. M'Intyre's, to which a party of their friends was invited.

The next day, Thursday, the 17th October, was principally passed in the railway train from Kingston to Toronto. I left the former city about noon, after bidding a warm farewell to my most kind, hospitable, and most attentive friends, Mr. and Mrs. M'Intyre and their delightfully genial daughter, Miss M'Pherson. The latter accompanied me to the station.

Thus terminated my most memorable, attractive, happy, and important visit to the celebrated University city of the great

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Dominion. On my part it will ever be associated with the never-to-be-forgotten visit of the Duke and Duchess of York, which has been the *raison d'être* of my crossing the Atlantic for the first time in my life, and thus affording me the opportunity of personally preaching the gospel of Imperial Federation, and of my own undying faith in that great national cause, to my fellow-countrymen in Canada, with all the energy and enthusiasm I can command.

## CHAPTER III

### TORONTO

AT the western end of Lake Ontario is Toronto, the "Queen city," as the Canadians fondly term it, and the centre of many important industries. Favourably situated from a commercial point of view, the town has made rapid strides, and has become one of the leading cities of the Dominion. Its history may be said to commence with the year 1793, when Toronto was founded by the United Empire Loyalists under Governor Simcoe, and the name of York bestowed upon it. It became the capital of the new province of Upper Canada, and at first grew but slowly, in fact in 1794 it contained but twelve houses, and at the outbreak of the war of 1812 this provincial capital, now the second city in the Dominion, contained



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but 900 inhabitants. During the war of 1812 Toronto was twice sacked by the Americans, and the Canadian Militia, who bore the brunt of the war, selected a more advantageous position than the exposed capital for their battle-ground. In 1834 the city received its charter and changed its name to Toronto, the population at that time numbering about 10,000. In 1837 William Lyon Mackenzie headed an ill-fated rebellion, which although playing a prominent part in the history of the province of Ontario and of the city of Toronto in particular, was too insignificant to interfere with the general progress of the town, which has been phenomenal even among American cities. Toronto of the present day may fairly claim to be called the intellectual centre of the Dominion, and, to use the words of Professor C. G. D. Roberts, one of the leading writers upon Canadian history, "it is filled with a homogeneous and successful population, it looks back upon a past of

wonderful achievement, and forward to a future bright with all possibilities, and is instinct with the sanguine and self-reliant spirit of this young Canadian people." Toronto can boast of many handsome and palatial private residences, as well as several important educational and literary institutions. Its streets are well laid out, and as a rule of considerable length; in fact it has been stated upon the authority of Mr. George Augustus Sala that Yonge Street, Toronto, is the longest street in the world. The following amusing anecdote is also related by Dr. Scadding in his entertaining work entitled "Toronto of Old." It says: "A story is told of a tourist wishing to utilise a stroll before breakfast by making out as he went along the whereabouts of a gentleman to whom he had a letter. Passing down the hall of his hotel he asked in a casual way of the book-keeper, 'Can you tell me where Mr. So-and-so lives [leisurely producing the note from his breast pocket]? it

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is somewhere along Yonge Street here in town.'—'Oh yes,' was the reply, when the address had been glanced at, 'Mr. So-and-so lives on Yonge Street about 25 miles up.'"

Among the educational institutions the University of Toronto forms perhaps the finest *ensemble* of college architecture in the Western Hemisphere, and together with University College offers a complete course of training in art, science, law, and medicine. Trinity College and McMaster Hall are also important scholastic establishments deserving of mention, whilst Upper Canada College, which was founded in 1829 during the régime and at the instance of Sir John Colborne, the Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada, and is most ably presided over by Dr. G. R. Parkin, is rapidly becoming the leading public school of Canada and an important factor in the intellectual development of the Canadian people. Toronto is noted in the Canadian Dominion for the large number of churches it possesses, the chief

amongst them being St. James's Cathedral, with a spire 316 feet in height, which is with one exception the loftiest on the American continent. It possesses an exquisite chime of bells, and contains numerous monuments to some of the leading men of the province of Ontario. St. Michael's Cathedral is the seat of the Roman Catholic Archbishop, whilst the Metropolitan Methodist Church contains the largest organ in Canada and one of the finest in the world, containing, as it does, 3315 pipes and 53 stops. Amongst other important buildings are the Normal School, which contains a fine gallery of paintings and statues; Government House, a handsome building of modern French design; the City Hall and Court-house; Osgoode Hall, the seat of the Supreme Court of Ontario, which contains an extensive legal library and is the seat of the Law School; the Custom House, and the Public Library, where is gathered together a magnificent collection of works relating to

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the Dominion of Canada. Toronto possesses many public parks and gardens, and a beautiful harbour which is sheltered by what is known as "the Island," which is a favourite summer resort of the residents of the city. The situation of Toronto has given it a position of high commercial importance, and with its numerous manufactories and palatial business houses it strikes one as being a town of considerable life and progressive activity. It boasts of a large number of excellent hotels and places of amusement, and its principal streets are traversed by both horse and electric tramways.

I reached Toronto between five and six o'clock, and found my dear friend Dr. Parkin, C.M.G., waiting for me at the station. He received me in his accustomed genial way and gave me a warm welcome.

As soon as possible he took me to his carriage, and we drove to the Upper Canada College, of which he is the Principal. It is

situated on a fine, commanding height about three miles out of Toronto. Here I was introduced to his very attractive daughter Alice, who, in the absence of her mother, then in England, most efficiently assists her father in his arduous and responsible duties, and in the management of this great and important collegiate establishment. A most comfortable room was placed at my disposal during my stay at the College.

"Prize Day" is always an eventful one at our own public schools in England. It is not one whit less so in such an establishment as the Upper Canada College at Toronto, whose present Principal is the author of that deeply interesting "Life of Edward Thring," headmaster of Uppingham School. Dr. Parkin, I know, is using every effort in his power, and every resource of his wonderfully energetic mind, to make Upper Canada College resemble as closely as possible our own public schools in tone, discipline, athletic sports, and general high,

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honourable, gentlemanly, and moral bearing, in order that it may compare favourably with those of England.

Friday, the 18th of October, was "Prize Day" at Upper Canada College. The function put me much in mind of the "Speech Day" at Harrow, which I have frequently attended.

A large concourse of the friends and relations of the students assembled in the Great Hall at three o'clock in the afternoon. Some 700 or 800 people were present. The proceedings commenced with the reading of an address by Dr. Parkin, detailing the progress and success of the College during the past year. This had evidently been very great and remarkable. Highly deserved credit was given by the various speakers afterwards to the most efficient services of the wonderfully energetic and indefatigable Principal, Dr. Parkin.

On this occasion I had the honour of

being invited to present to the best character student the prize called the Mason Prize, and the recipient was a student named Britten. The choice is made in a most excellent and impartial manner. By the admirable system adopted the selection is made by the joint votes of the masters and students. The student who has the majority of the combined votes wins the prize, which consists of a gold medal. In presenting it, I addressed the audience in a brief speech, which was pleasantly received.

The function terminated after about two hours' duration, and the large company dispersed, many to view the extensive college buildings, and others to return home.

In the evening Dr. Parkin gave me the great treat of reading to me a long and most deeply interesting private letter he had just received from Lord Milner from South Africa. It appears that they are lifelong friends, and were fellow-undergraduates



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at Oxford. I was delighted to listen to the broad, statesman-like views expressed, with all the freedom and frankness of a confidential letter to his evidently most attached friend in such enlightened and admirable terms on the present political situation in Great Britain, more especially with reference to the war in South Africa, and the policy to be followed after the war. Already a firm and faithful believer in Lord Milner as being one of the few real statesmen we possess in the present day, the expression of the truly broad-minded and comprehensive wisdom, and splendid sentiments contained in that letter only served to enhance my previously high opinion of him, as one of the foremost men of a generation, I fervently trust, that is destined by Providence to rule the British Empire of the future.

Next day I went into Toronto with Dr. Parkin, and had luncheon with him at the National Club. I called on, and was

introduced to many of the men of light and leading in this very fine and progressive commercial city.

In the evening Dr. Parkin and I dined with Colonel Denison at his beautiful residence, Heydon Villa, where we met a party of friends, and supporters of Imperial Federation. Among others of his guests was Sir Oliver Mowat, the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Ontario, with whom I had a long chat on my favourite subject during the evening. I now begin to feel I am commencing the campaign of scouting for Imperial Federation, which was the main reason for my taking the enterprising step of coming out to Canada.

The weather, which was rather unsettled while I was staying at Kingston, seemed now to have changed, and lovely days had set in. A clear, cloudless blue sky, with a fresh breeze and bright sun. To me it seemed truly ideal. It is termed "The Indian Summer," but it certainly

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has nothing of undue warmth or oppressive heat. In fact the air is cold and very bracing.

Dr. Parkin and his daughter being incessantly engaged in fulfilling their various and multifarious duties all day, most kindly left me, while staying at the College, to occupy and amuse myself without interference, to my heart's content, either out-of-doors, in the library and drawing-room, or in my own very charming and comfortable room, as inclination prompted me.

The time I spent at Toronto was passed in a variety of social and political engagements. On Tuesday, the 22nd of October, the Mayor of Toronto entertained me to a luncheon. I also met a party of men of mark in the city, among them Mr. Hudson, Professor of Greek at the University, and Mr. Willison, the editor of the *Toronto Globe*, at a dinner given to me at Government House by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Province of Ontario, Sir Oliver Mowat,

G.C.M.G. The luncheon and the dinner were both very large and *recherché* entertainments, and I could not fail to feel gratified at the proofs which were being given me of the kind welcome and great hospitality shown me at each of those handsome complimentary banquets held in my honour.

Again, the following day, another very handsome luncheon was given me at the Toronto Club by Mr. Nordheimer, a wealthy citizen, and a Fellow of the Royal Colonial Institute. Here I met the Bishop of Toronto, the Mayor, the Chief Justice, &c. All were most pleasant in their kind and cordial welcomes.

After the luncheon was over, Mr. Small, the honorary corresponding secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute, took me to see the very fine and commodious Law Courts and the University. I was much struck and surprised to observe, in going over the new library of the latter, how quickly it has advanced in restoration and in recovering

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from the disastrous fire which destroyed the old one in 1890.

Every day during my stay here some fresh entertainment was hospitably pressed upon me. The Hon. George W. Ross, the Premier of the Province of Ontario, invited me to another very large and most elegant luncheon, given to me in the Speaker's quarters of the Houses of Parliament. We sat down, a party of nearly thirty guests, of whom were again many of the prominent and leading men of Toronto. They included four of the ministers, Colonel George Denison, Dr. Parkin, Mr. Cockburn, and many others I had not met before.

After the luncheon the only toast, excepting that of the King, was my own health, proposed by Mr. Ross, and, in returning thanks, I was glad of the opportunity of expressing my very warm appreciation for the compliment, as well as for the kind and hospitable reception I had everywhere received since my arrival in Toronto.

It is sometimes remarked in England that there is more risk run by certain "heroes of the hour" (when returning, perhaps, from a successful war in which they have distinguished themselves, and whom, therefore, their fellow-citizens at home wish to honour), when they have to "run the gauntlet" of luncheons and banquets, and such like entertainments, to which they are invited in alarming profusion, in order to pay them the compliments of appreciation and goodwill. In a mild way, I was rather anxious for myself during my visit to Toronto. Feasting is not in my line; but my good and kind friends here seemed determined to make me encounter the risk of being killed by kindness, in giving me such a succession of prandial receptions, which might have unpleasant consequences to any one less temperate, most fortunately for myself, than I am.

Friday, the 25th of October, was the day fixed for my giving a public address on

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Imperial Federation at the St. George's Hall, one of the largest halls in Toronto. It had been extensively advertised previously. The meeting proved to be a great success, and consequently a gratifying one to me personally. The hall was filled to overflowing with a very representative and distinguished gathering of ladies and gentlemen. I was received in a most kind, sympathetic, and complimentary way on rising to commence my address. It was attentively listened to. The vote of thanks to me at its conclusion was moved by the Hon. Mr. Ross, the Prime Minister of Ontario, and seconded by one of his principal political opponents, the Hon. Mr. Foster. The former made a very important speech for a Minister, and the latter a very spirited and eloquent one. It was indeed a great triumph for me to have been the means of bringing them together on the same platform, in support and sympathy with the general principle of my views on the great national question of

Imperial Federation, and to elicit such sentiments as they uttered on this occasion from two prominent leaders of public opinion in the province of Ontario.

*The Toronto Globe* of the following day contained a full report of the meeting at St. George's Hall. As it is so important to place on record every detail I have had the opportunity of giving, in connection with my visit to Canada on behalf of the cause which induced me to come out from England to advocate it, I print in full the account given in the leading journal of Toronto, of this important and representative meeting.

"THE FEDERATION OF THE EMPIRE.

*"Veteran Champion of Unity welcomed  
to Toronto.*

"Imperial organisation held the attention of a crowded, and in some respects rather remarkable meeting held last night in St. George's Hall. In its inception the meeting



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was a graceful compliment to the guest of the evening, Sir Frederick Young, a veteran in the cause of what he preferred last night to style national federation, who at an advanced age is paying a visit to one of the portions of the Greater Britain which he has striven for years to unite to the Mother Country. It was more than a complimentary gathering, however, for the audience comprised many persons of the classes which the league is anxious to reach, and the occasion elicited brilliant addresses from two Canadian publicists who are ordinarily on widely differing platforms. Yet, upon the topic of the evening Hon. Mr. Ross and Hon. Mr. Foster exhibited a noteworthy agreement, alike in general sentiment and in opinion as to the definite courses of action which it is advisable to pursue.

“A man of over eighty years of age, the guest of the evening showed a surprising vigour of frame and of utterance, and his address was a definite though concise

presentation of one or two important aspects of the cause. Mr. Ross emphasised one aspect of the situation which may be described as timely, the fact that the Colonies in entering any scheme of federation must cede no jot of their self-governing powers. The expedient for promoting Imperial unity which he approved was a continuance of the present method of conferences. For the rest, he took strong ground as to the need for altering the view-point of the stay-at-home Briton as to the Empire. The gaining of this point, he observed, would result in a great increase of inter-Imperial trade, and in a reorganisation of the present emigration from the British Isles—'transplanting,' to use a poetic phrase of Sir Frederick Young's.

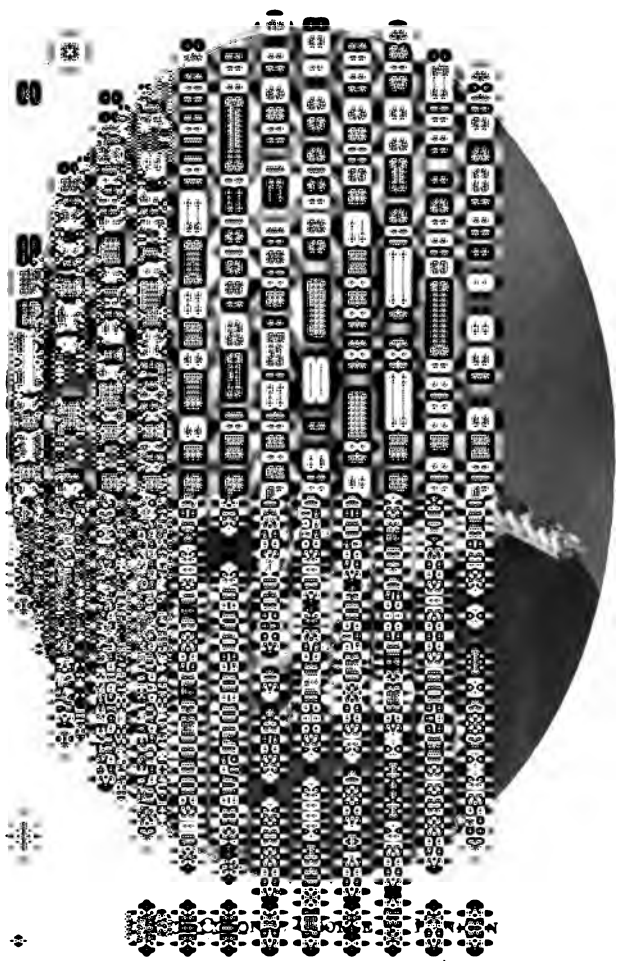
"In an address of much fervour and couched in fine felicity of phrase, Mr. Foster suggested the adoption of the characteristically British course of going slow as to definite constitution-making. Practical

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points, which for the moment should attract attention, were emigration from Great Britain, the importance of Great Britain's preferring the produce of Greater Britain to that of aliens in her purchasing, and mutual defence. 'The defence will be mutual, and will be compensated for by a mutual trade.'

"Dr. Parkin also spoke briefly, commenting in some bitterness of spirit upon the absence of Canadians from the battle-ground in South Africa. 'We should remember our duties as well as our rights,' he said. The meeting, which was hearty and unanimous, closed with loud cheers and the national anthem.

"The chair was occupied by Lieut.-Col. Denison, and among those present were Hon. Geo. W. Ross, Hon. Geo. E. Foster, Bishop Sweatman, Dr. Parkin, Rev. Canon Welch, Lieut.-Col. Delamere, R. E. Kingsford, Commander Law, H. J. Wickham, D. Creighton, T. Dixon Craig, J. T. Small,





J. A. Worrell, Allan Cassels, F. Arnoldi, Mortimer Clark, Lieut.-Col. Mason, J. Castell Hopkins, Geo. Musson, W. T. Boyd, Thomas Dunnet, J. W. Curry, T. C. Irving, T. D. Delamere, G. W. Grote, Dr. C. A. Hodgetts, Michael Basso, Inspector Archibald, Lieut.-Col. C. A. Denison, J. M. Clark, J. W. L. Forster, Arthur White, T. E. Moberly, Samuel Nordheimer, J. F. Eby, R. T. Coady, E. L. Drewery, Winnipeg; H. M. Mowat, Dr. Palmer, T. G. Mason.

“Lieut.-Col. DENISON introduced the speaker of the evening with very few remarks. Sir Frederick Young, he said, was, to his knowledge, one of the very best and strongest friends of the Colonies in the British Isles. The Colonel was never at a meeting in England to discuss great questions touching the future of the Empire when Sir Frederick was not present. He was the Honorary Secretary of the Royal Colonial Institute, the organisation that had done so much to change public opinion in

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Great Britain regarding the Colonies. When the Institute was established there were in England a class of people called Little Englanders, who desired that the Colonies should go their own way, as *The Times* had candidly invited them to do. No one man had done more than Sir Frederick Young to convert this disregard of the Empire's Colonial interests into the present pervading Imperial sentiment. It was a great gratification to have him here, and also to have on the same platform Premier Ross and Hon. Geo. E. Foster. If there was anything that was satisfactory to those who had the interests of the country at heart it was to find the prominent men of both political parties joining hands in the discussion of the great question of Imperial unity.

"Sir FREDERICK YOUNG, on rising to address the large gathering, was received with hearty applause. He said: Mr. President and ladies and gentlemen,—For the first time in my life I have just crossed the

Atlantic, at the invitation of my distinguished friend, Principal Grant of Kingston, to be present at the laying of the foundation-stone of the new University buildings there by the Duke and Duchess of York on the 15th inst. This is the reason of my having the great privilege and pleasure of being just now present in your wonderfully progressive and fine city of Toronto. (Applause.) Perhaps it may not be amiss for me to preface the remarks I shall have the honour of making to you on this occasion, by saying a word to so many new-found friends as are present at this meeting on what may be termed my 'credentials' for addressing a Toronto audience to-night. During the course of a long life I have endeavoured to seize whatever opportunities presented themselves to me of doing all in my power to promote a thoroughly good and sympathetic feeling between the Mother Country and her Colonies—(applause)—to show emphatically what deep, mutual interests the



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centre and the outlying portions of the British Empire had in one another, and that, therefore, the closest possible union, politically, commercially, and socially, should be advocated and encouraged by her statesmen and rulers, to whatever political section of the community or local party they belonged.

“ With this object I have lived ; with this purpose I shall die. (Applause.) I was one of the first and most active members of the Royal Colonial Institute, established in London more than thirty years ago, and of the Imperial Federation League, of which the late Right Hon. W. E. Forster did me the honour many years ago of saying that ‘ through evil report and good report, and, what was worse, no report at all, I had consistently adhered for so many years to the cause of federation,’ and I am now also on the Executive Committee of its successor, The British Empire League ; all founded for the express object of advocating and

supporting the principles to which I have alluded. With these few personal references I will now proceed with my subject.

"I have been invited to address you on a great national question, which has been called 'Imperial Federation.' It is a very vast subject, and requires many addresses and much time and attention to explain and probe the pith of the important issues to the British nation which it includes. In the brief time, however, at my disposal this evening I propose to touch on a few points embraced in it, which I hope may give my audience, as British subjects, 'some food for thought.' The subject has been deeply in my mind for many long years. More than a quarter of a century ago I published a volume under the title of 'Imperial Federation,' which advocated the principle to be adopted in dealing with it. I need not say that the ideas I then formed have only since been strengthened and confirmed in my mind. Although they were

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much ridiculed and derided as visionary and chimerical, they have been proved possible by time, until they have encouraged me to believe that they are already descending from cloudland, and are rapidly being brought within the range of practical politics. (Applause.)

“ And now, ladies and gentlemen, I will give you in brief my definition of Imperial Federation. It is comprised in the eight following words. It means ‘The government of the Empire by the Empire.’ To elucidate my meaning I will go into a little more detailed explanation. The great origin of the system by which the British people for ages has been governed is that venerable and glorious Institution, our Parliament, evolved by King Edward the Third from the previous Councils of the Barons, who won from King John the crux of our liberties, ‘Magna Charta.’ Crude and imperfect as the Parliament at first might be, as ages went on a gradual improvement

in representation took place as Great Britain expanded, and these Parliaments became the model for her Colonies as well as foreign countries to imitate with more or less success. Then, in the course of centuries, and in the womb of time, as the Colonial Empire developed, self-government for all the great Colonies was established, and they accepted their constitutions, framed on the basis of the one which prevailed in the Motherland. Still the central Government has retained the exclusive control not only of its own local and domestic concerns, but of Imperial policy. It is for the purpose of putting an end to this anomaly of the British Constitution, in consequence of the vast and increasing growth of its Empire beyond the seas, that the advocates of Imperial Federation desire that a system of government should be substituted by which Colonies should possess a real, fair, and just participation and voice in all matters of Imperial concern and Imperial policy. (Cheers.)

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One of the great statesmen of England, Charles James Fox, more than a century ago pronounced the following famous dictum: 'Representation is the sovereign remedy for every evil.' With it I most heartily agree. Of course the principle assumes that the kind of representation is fair and just, impartial and honest in its plan and environments.

"Now, I wish to say a few words with regard to a most serious error, in discouraging any plan for Imperial Federation from a colonial point of view against which I have often had emphatically to protest: that it involves the slightest interference whatever with local self-government. This is a gross error, and libel on the part of those who assert it. It is a most unjust and unfair assertion. I entirely deny it. On the contrary, its cardinal principle is to give to the self-governing Colonies, in absolute addition to their present powers, an adequate participation in the control and policy of

Imperial affairs. (Applause.) Without attempting to define completely or accurately the class of questions which under a system of Imperial Federation would be dealt with by a supreme Senate of the whole Empire, I would mention one or two of the class which would come forward before it. Those I would allude to would be questions of peace and war, national defence, communications between the heart and extremities of the Empire, fiscal questions from an Imperial standpoint, emigration or colonisation. (Cheers.) These subjects, among others, are of grave national importance, and they should be legislated on by a supreme national Government, acting for the whole Empire, by a properly selected joint Council of Great Britain and her Colonies.

"One most vital question I am anxious especially to touch upon. It is the great one of emigration or colonisation. Can any one be of greater importance than this one to an Empire possessing, as Great Britain

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does, such a wealth of land, capital and labour, the three elements of national wealth, but still so unequally distributed? It is a problem of more supreme importance than almost any other to be successfully solved, how these elements can be most satisfactorily adjusted if the British Empire is to continue among the nations in the van of civilisation and prosperity. I have long taken a great interest in this question. Thirty years ago I published a pamphlet under the title of 'Transplantation,' the true system of Emigration. I there urged the devotion of large sums of national capital to be judiciously and wisely appropriated towards selected Colonisation, and which thus expended for the purpose would be a most profitable national investment; and I further suggested that the subject was of such supreme importance that the home Government should institute a special Cabinet Minister to take charge of it. It is scarcely necessary for me to say that I still hold in

its entirety the same opinion which I then expressed.

"I now approach the very kernel of this great national question. One of the greatest difficulties its advocates have to contend with is indifferentism in the general public mind. So many people, absorbed in their own affairs, among the wealthy and leisured classes, will not trouble themselves to think, or 'to look ahead,' in political matters. They say 'we are content with things as they are.' But this attitude of mind will not do in national political affairs. It is the indolent disposition of sanctioning drift which, in the long run, leads to disaster. I earnestly appeal to my fellow-countrymen, especially those in the Dominion of Canada and the other great self-governing Colonies, to rouse themselves to a wiser and more intelligent regard towards the affairs of the Empire of which they form the 'backbone,' and to look more seriously into the questions and the issues of the problem I have



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ventured to bring before your attention tonight. (Applause.)

“Every Briton at home and beyond the sea has been profoundly touched and deeply delighted with the splendid tour throughout the Colonies which has just been so triumphantly and successfully concluded by the heirs to the British throne, the Duke and Duchess of York. It has without doubt been a wonderful tour of loyal sentiment and enthusiastic devotion, on the part of the people of the outlying portions of the Empire to their future Sovereigns. But even this outburst of sentiment is not alone sufficient. In political matters a great Empire requires some machinery beyond personal loyalty, most valuable as it unquestionably is, in the present state of the world, for its due and successful government, lest the sentiment (left alone) should evaporate and die out. (Applause.) At the same time, I am far from wishing not to give credit to the value and influence of the most remarkable

historical importance of this wonderful tour. It is indeed and in fact very real, and of far-reaching consequences to the future of the British Empire. There is a very striking proof I desire to take this opportunity of mentioning, of the influence which the Royal Family of Great Britain exercise over the nation in a prophetic speech made by the late Prince Consort at a dinner at the Trinity House, London, in the month of May 1860, which has received a wonderful corroboration in his grandchildren's present tour. I have lately met with it in Sir Theodore Martin's life of that great man, 'Albert the Good.' The late Prince Consort then said: 'What a strange and noteworthy circumstance this'—referring to the incidents then taking place on the St. Lawrence and at Capetown, in which his sons, the Prince of Wales and the Duke of Edinburgh, were then playing such a conspicuous part—'almost in the same week the elder brother is to open the great bridge across

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the St. Lawrence, in Canada, the younger will lay the foundation-stone of the break-water for the harbour of Capetown, at the other end of the world. What vast considerations, as regards our country, are brought to us by this simple fact! What present greatness, what past history, what future hopes! And how important is the part given to the Royal Family of England to act in the development of the distant and rising countries, who recognise in the British Crown their allegiance to us, their supreme bond of union with the Mother Country and with each other.' (Applause.)

"I will conclude by quoting a single sentence of one of your present eloquent Premier's recent splendid speeches (which glow with such a patriotic ring), in which he used these remarkable and wonderful words, so simple and yet so powerfully expressive: 'Call us to your Councils.' Here, in brief, we possess the language—the root and germ of all we are striving to induce our

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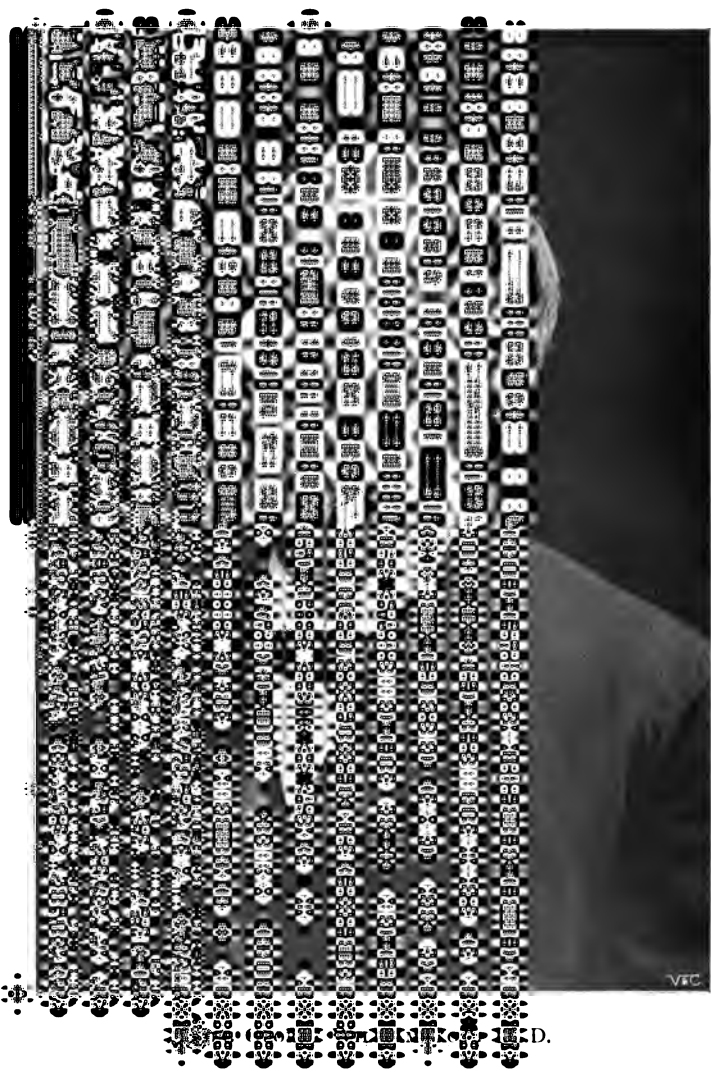
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fellow-countrymen, at home and beyond the seas, to accept, in God's good time, as the supreme government of the British Empire. They deserve to be written in letters of gold, and to be wafted in trumpet-tongued accents to every part of the British Empire! This is the interpretation we emphatically put upon those two grand words, 'Imperial Federation.' (Cheers.)

"Hon. GEO. W. ROSS, in rising to move a vote of thanks to Sir Frederick Young, said that after the speech they had just heard any further comment on the main features of Imperial Federation was unnecessary. He would be glad if Sir Frederick's time permitted him to visit the far west of the Dominion of Canada, which would give him a fair idea of the important place the Dominion occupied in the great Empire to which he had devoted so much of his time. We were not wanting in size. He hoped we were not wanting in enterprise, or in all the other qualities which had made Great

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Britain great, and if we possessed those, there was no fear that by-and-by we would make Canada great. That was our responsibility; we were more immediately concerned in that. Mr. Ross said he had during the past summer had the pleasure of presenting the colonists' view of this question before the British Council. 'It is true, as Sir Frederick Young has said,' he continued, 'that there was a time in England when considerable apathy prevailed as to the Colonies. I believe that time has happily passed away—(applause)—and I do not know that there is any British statesman who would dare breathe such a sentiment as that of former days outside of South Africa. (Cheers.) The change has not been wrought in a day. We owe that change of point of view as much to such men as Sir Frederick Young as to any other single individual who has given his attention to the matter. (Applause.) I have said before that one reason why I was pleased

with the view now being presented to Canadians of the Empire was because it gave us a wider view of our responsibilities and of our possibilities.

“ ‘ We need that in all new countries, and I believe the only way to enable us to grow to the full stature of statesmanship to which we ought to aspire is by taking a wider range of the future of Canada as part of the Empire. (Cheers.) There is much to be done in the way of unifying the Empire. If you go to the old country you almost feel yourself a stranger in so many ways. The coinage is different. You are puzzled sorely to transmute—you can easily transfer—(laughter)—the dollars and cents into pounds, shillings, and pence. You are puzzled with the weights and measures. These are matters of trade. I would like all the Colonies to feel there was a unification of every matter affecting trade and commerce—(cheers)—so that when we carried on exchange with London we could



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do so as easily as with Montreal. These are small matters, and yet they give you a feeling of identity and association, which, I think, is proper in people of the same nationality and belonging to the same political structure. Then we have difficulties in regard to our insolvency law, which are very injurious to trade between Britain and Canada, and as a result of which the British merchant fears he will not be fairly treated in the distribution of a disrupted estate.

“ ‘ Sir Frederick Young has referred to the great question of the federation of the Empire. That is of all others the question that will ultimately settle whether the British Empire is to be consolidated, or whether the Colonies are to remain in a state of aloofness, as now, from the Empire. We purchased our liberty and free constitution in Canada as Paul purchased his freedom, at a great price. We are a self-governing Colony. We have nothing to ask further except one or two minor points in order to render our

Parliamentary Institutions as free as those of Great Britain. If we enter into a federation, here is the point on which we ought to guard ourselves: We ought to see that these liberties are not abridged in any way. ('Hear, hear,' and cheers.) The core, then, of the whole situation, and the point to which I am calling your attention, is: Get federation just as soon as you can, but in getting it see that we in this outpost of the Empire retain just as much of that liberty which we now enjoy as Britain herself would retain. (Cheers.)

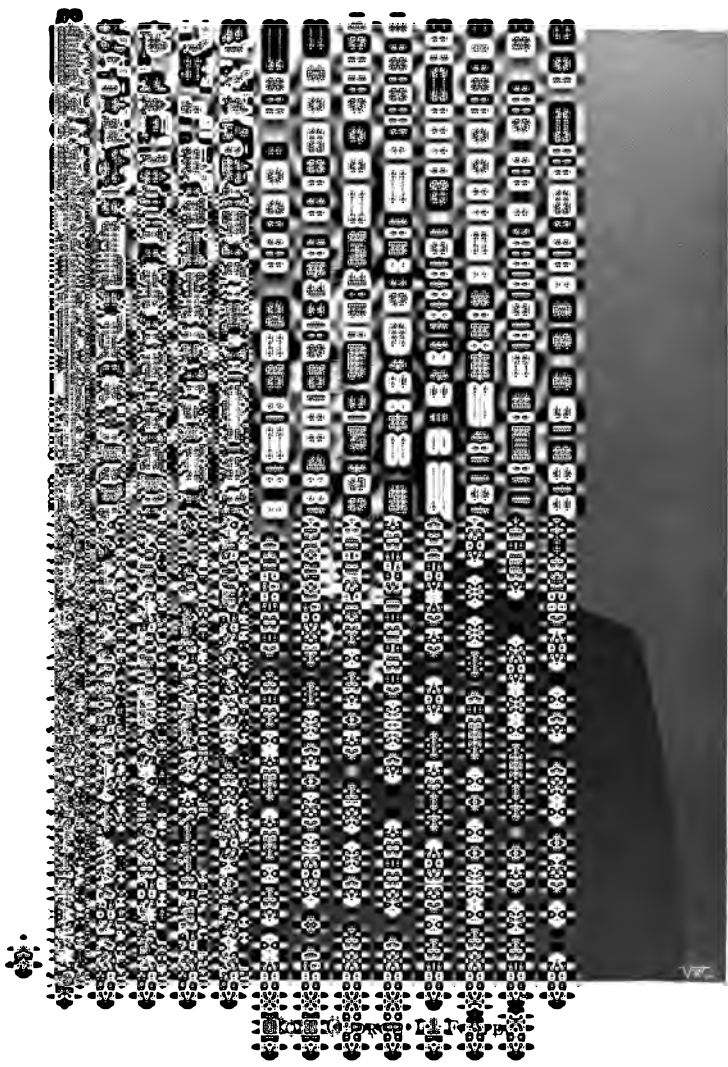
“Of the several schemes which have been brought forward, one suggested by Mr. Chamberlain—and of all our Colonial Secretaries I think he best grasps the Colonial situation—(applause)—is a permanent consultative Council for the Colonies. I am not in favour of a permanent consultative Council not responsible to the people of Canada. They would become in a short time out of touch with the people.

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They would want in alertness, and if there is anything necessary to Colonial government in this country it is alertness with regard to all changes or advances in public sentiment which may make for the development of the country. In the meantime I think we should go upon the methods adopted for the past few years—that is, to agree to conferences which may meet at London. (Cheers.) These would be composed of men fresh from Canada, having their minds imbued with the latest views of our people.’ (Cheers.)

“In concluding, Mr. Ross said such questions as those of defence, of commerce, and so on might well be relegated to a federated Parliament. It was necessary to impress the people of the old country with our trade advantages, and to do this he suggested an active propaganda in Britain. Their attention secured, the great market we would have would be readily appreciated. (Cheers.)

“Hon. GEO. E. FOSTER was received



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with hearty applause on rising to second the vote of thanks. He complimented Sir Frederick Young upon his long and valuable services in the work of unification of the Empire, and for the speech of very great importance and interest he had made. Mr. Foster spoke of the importance of public men learning of the resources and conditions of the various portions of the Empire from personal observation, and the great interest which had been aroused with regard to Canada by the visit of the Duke and Duchess of York. He regretted that there was apathy in Great Britain among her statesmen in reference to the great question of Imperial unity, and hoped they would be stirred up from that apathy as a result of the royal tour and the unfortunate but glorious war in Africa.

“It appeared to him that the ‘British Empire League’ was somewhat of a misnomer, as there had been a British Empire for the last thousand years, and, it might be

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asked, what did Colonel Denison and other enthusiasts want to get up and talk about a 'British Empire League' for? There was need for a British Empire League, not to form a British Empire or make it permanent, but there was other work for the league to do. The British Empire stood to-day with a history unequalled for the singularly transforming power it exercised upon the world, of which India and Egypt are examples. But, after all, when this has been done, and England and her Colonies stand in the relation towards each other which they occupy to-day, it was simply but the basis for future building. (Applause.) There was the Empire and there was fair ground for believing it will exist, but the Empire was not what it ought to be, and its unity was not what it ought to be. (Applause.) It was the duty of every man to think and endeavour to work out for himself the problem, 'How best the Empire may be made better and more united.'

“There were no insuperable hindrances to its being made better in point of unity and co-ordinate action. Now and then just a breath of suspicion of want of loyalty was heard, but it was lost in the mighty mass of devotion to the British Empire and its flag, and to the institutions and liberty which it represents. The best work which can be done for the greater unity of the Empire was not so much to discuss plans, to formulate and lay out definite lines of political institutions or government, but to seize upon those points in which there can be worked out a way for co-operation and effort between the Motherland and the Colonies, and between the Colonies themselves. (Cheers.) One of these points was ‘emigration’ and ‘immigration,’ and they were co-relatives of each other. What would the Colonies have been if all the brawn and brain of the Mother Country which has emigrated in the last fifty years had been kept within the Empire? (Applause.)



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"In the matter of demand and supply of foodstuffs, &c., why could there not be co-operation between the Motherland and the Colonies by which Great Britain, who has to buy seven-eighths of her food, would buy it from the Colonies? (Applause.) If British and Colonial statesmen would just get that great idea before them, in twenty-five years, and less, the Colonies would feed every mouth in Great Britain, and the Colonies would derive a tremendous impetus toward development and national growth as a result of the pouring of the millions of money into them in return for the food. (Applause.)

"Britons speak of their generosity in buying from every market, but generosity, like charity, should begin at home. (Applause.) Britain was the Britain she was to-day because she fought for her place and had been able to maintain it, and Britain will be an Empire in the future in proportion as she is able to defend her position and maintain it. But there are

other wars besides military contests, and the war which is being waged now in Europe and in the world is commercial war. What foolishness for Britain to spend her money generously to build up the power of her enemies.

“Because the war of the future will be a commercial war, the sooner Great Britain and her Colonies recognise the fact the sooner will they take the most effective means of maintaining the unity and greatness of the Empire. Britain has everything within her wide domains to easily make herself an Empire upon such a broad basis that her position will be rendered infinitely more safe than it is to-day. It was on the products of agriculture, Mr. Foster said, that the Empire depended for defence. How good it would be when British statesmen found that both production and defence lay in the Colonies. The compensation for defence was in Imperial trade. He believed the Mother Country should treat the

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Colonies with just a little more generosity than she did her enemies, and that the Colonies should show a preference for the Mother Country.'

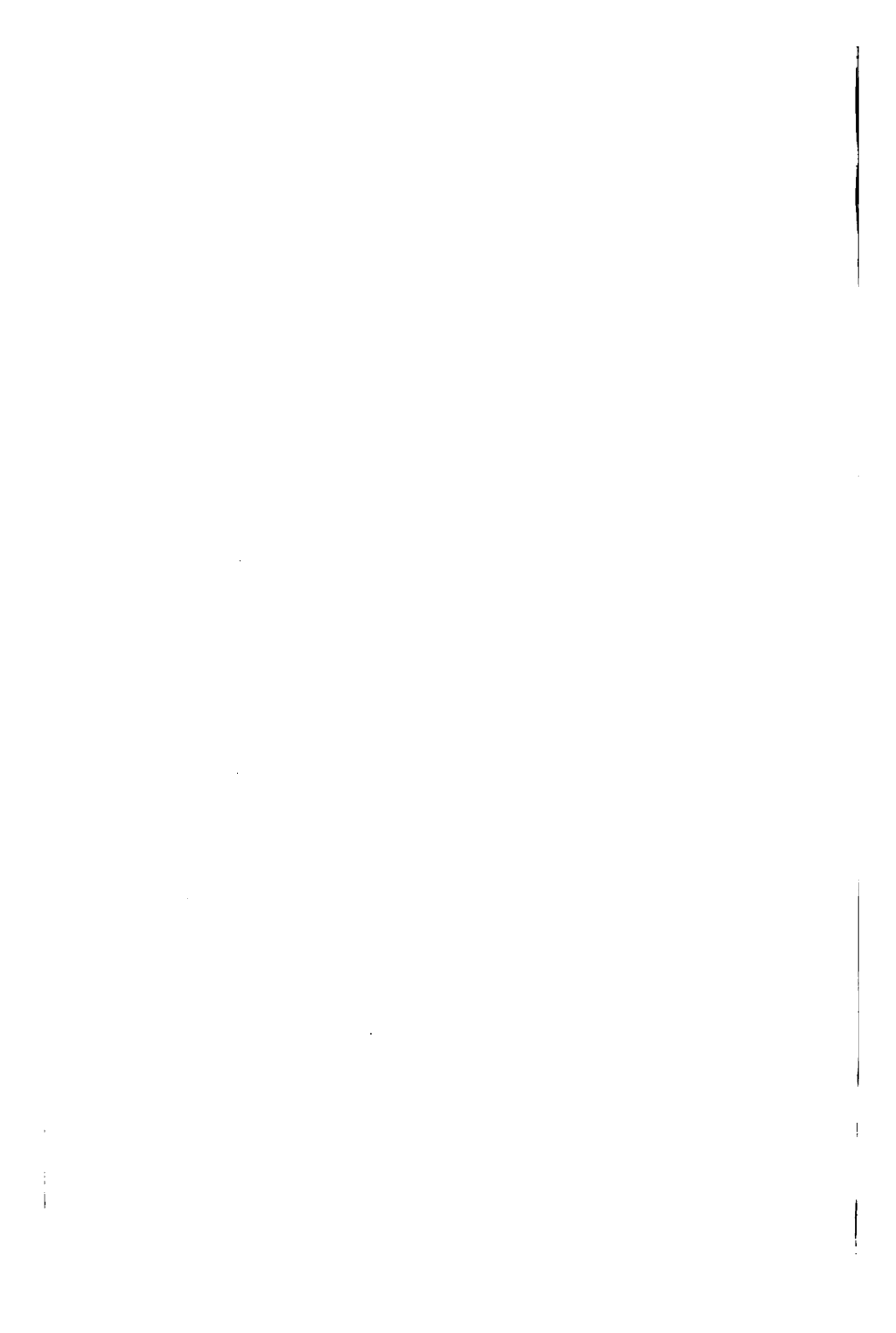
"Colonel DENISON—'We do it now.'

"Mr. FOSTER—'We do it now, and there is a lesson Great Britain may well ponder.'

"In conclusion, Mr. Foster said the Colonies should insist upon and demand the things they had spoken of. He doubted whether apathy in England was passing away, and said that the Boards of Trade should commence a propaganda, as Mr. Ross had suggested.

"Dr. PARKIN, C.M.G., was called upon and spoke very briefly of the apathy that, in his opinion, existed in Canada. Imperial confederation, he asserted, was by far the most critical question that could engage the attention of the world to-day. If a Canadian propaganda was needed in England, he would like to see the English people send a commission out here.





To-day the position of affairs in South Africa was a cause of concern, yet Canadians remained cool and critical. They talked of Tommy Atkins' immobility, but Tommy Atkins and the Australians and New Zealanders had remained to fight it out. They talked of the mobility of the North-West Mounted Police. Why were there not 5000 of them in South Africa now? Canadians ought also to closely study their duties, and inquire whether they should enjoy the advantages and escape the responsibilities of British connection. He agreed with Sir Wilfrid Laurier, that Canadians should have a place in the Councils of the Empire.

"The vote of thanks was most heartily tendered, and Sir Frederick Young responded in a brief speech, in which he bore witness to the excellent impressions he had formed of Canada."

Sunday, the 27th of October, was the

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last day of my stay at Toronto. In the afternoon Mr. Nordheimer, a staunch friend of Imperial Federation, sent his carriage to Upper Canada College for me in order that I might visit his very beautiful residence a few miles away. The park-like grounds are very fine, and the house itself is a very large and elegant one. It is situated on very high ground, from which there is a charming view of the surrounding country. Mr. Nordheimer informed me that he had built this house about forty years ago, from the plan of one his brother had erected at Hamburg.

## CHAPTER IV

### OTTAWA

OTTAWA is the Capital of the Dominion of Canada, and consists of an Upper and Lower town. It is a busy, thriving city, and the centre of the Ontario lumber trade. It was originally known as Bytown, but on its incorporation as a city in 1854 it assumed its present name, and, on the confederation of the Canadian Provinces, was selected as the seat of the Federal Government. The most prominent feature in Ottawa is the Parliament Buildings, which cover an area of four acres, and are situated on a bluff overlooking the Ottawa River. The foundation-stone was laid in 1860 by our present King, then Prince of Wales, and the buildings have cost from first to last about one million pounds sterling. The style of



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architecture is based on the Gothic of the twelfth century, and the material of which they are constructed is a cream-coloured sandstone, to which age has added fresh beauty of colour, whilst the door and window arches are of a warm red Potsdam sandstone, and dressing of Ohio freestone. The Central building is occupied by the two Houses of Parliament, the Senate and the House of Commons, and the two wings contain the various Ministerial offices. Behind the main building stands the Library of Parliament, a handsome structure with a lofty dome, supported by flying buttresses of graceful design, which is open to the public as a free Reference Library, and is one of the most beautiful and at the same time useful institutions of its kind to be met with in Canada. The buildings are surrounded by well-kept grounds, artistically arranged, which command magnificent views of the surrounding scenery and form a favourite promenade of the residents.

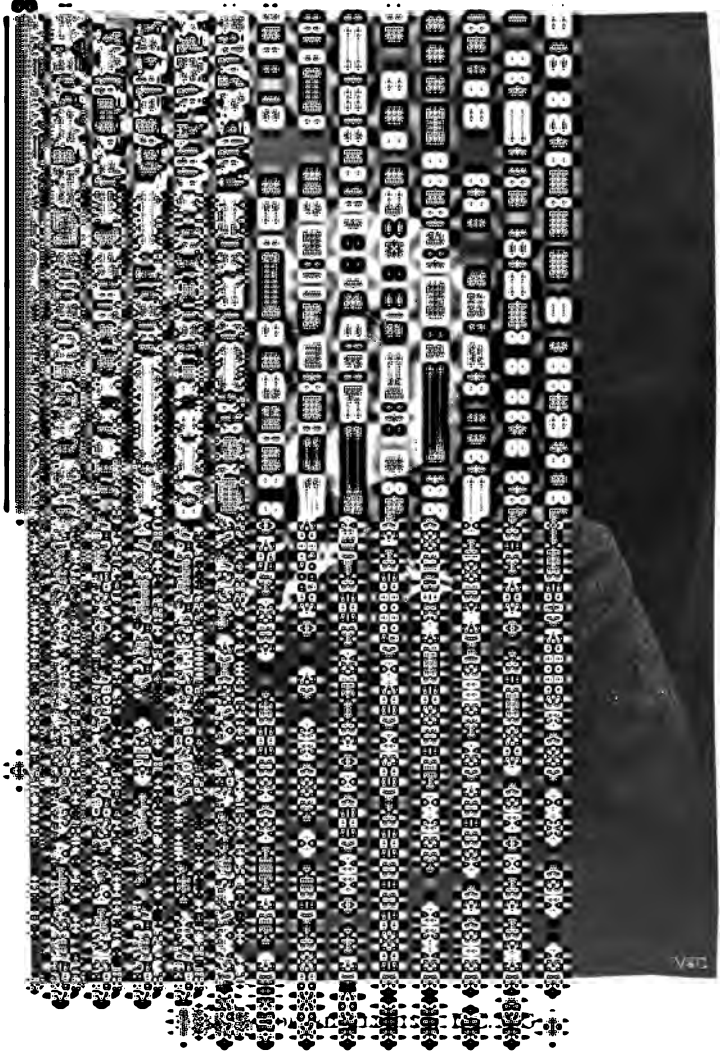
Rideau Hall, the residence of the Governor-General of Canada, is a most unpretentious but, at the same time, comfortable residence. It lies about two miles away from the city on the road running past Rideau Falls, and is the centre of the social life of Ottawa. Near by are the famous Chaudière Falls, where the Ottawa River narrows to about 200 feet, and descends 50 feet over ragged ledges of rock. This great water power has not been wasted, but is utilised by numerous saw-mills, where the visitor may witness huge forest-trees rapidly converted into trim yellow planks and shingles. In addition to the saw-mills there are flour, cement, and wool mills, all dependent upon this marvellous water power, which eventually finds its way into the sea. It should also be stated that the cars of the excellent tramway system are lighted, heated, and propelled by electricity generated by the Chaudière Falls.

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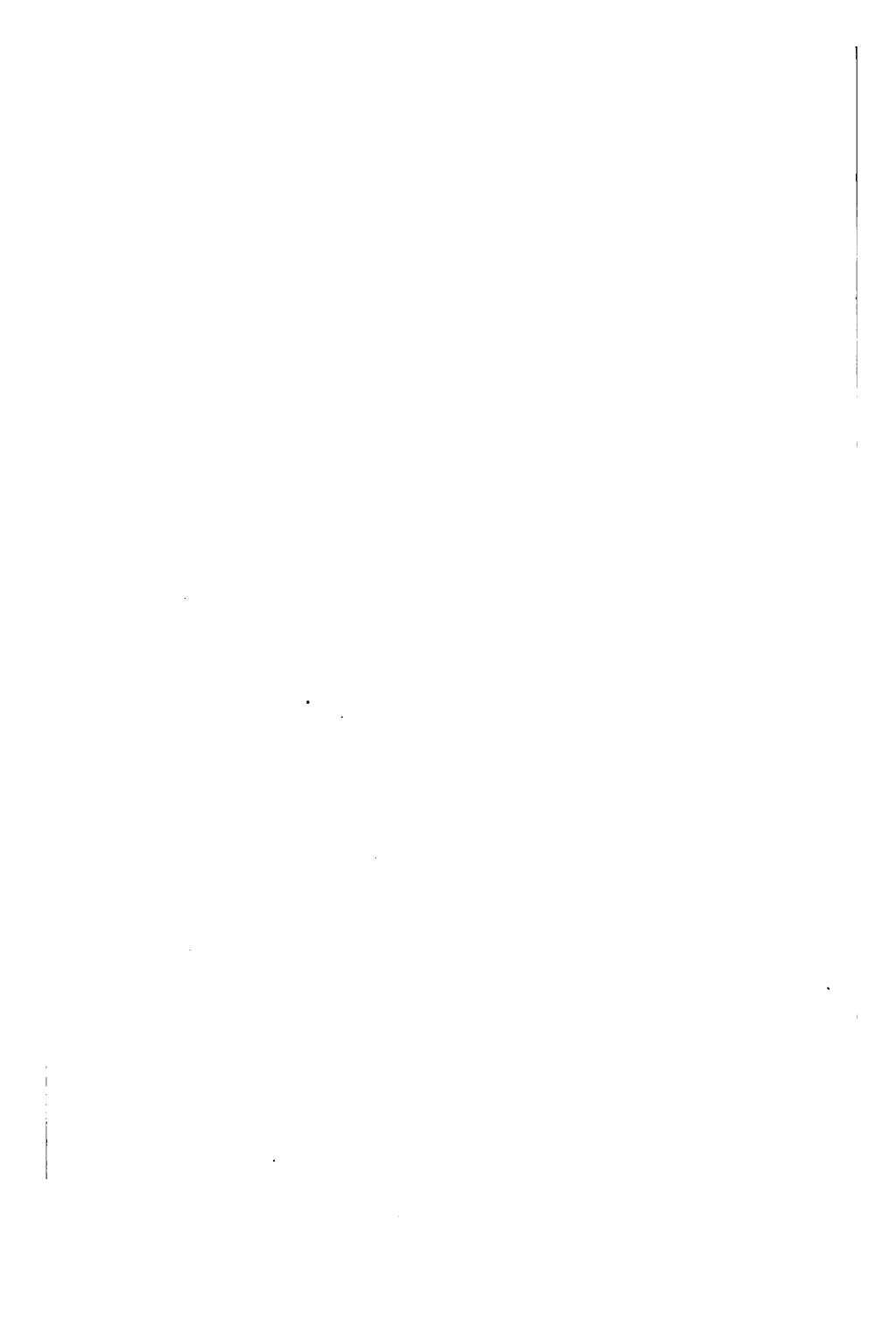
Ottawa contains several good buildings, such as the Post-Office, the Roman Catholic Cathedral of Notre Dame, the Ottawa University (a Roman Catholic Institution), the Normal School, and the City Hall. Here also are situated the offices of the Geological Survey of Canada, containing an excellent museum, and the Printing Bureau, in which all the Government printing is done and which is in charge of Dr. S. E. Dawson, a well-known writer upon subjects of Canadian history.

I left Toronto on Monday, the 28th of October, soon after eight o'clock in the morning, after a most pleasant visit of ten days at Upper Canada College. I arrived at Ottawa about five o'clock, and found Sir Sandford Fleming waiting at the station to receive me. I drove with him to his residence, Winterholm, in Chapel Street, where I found myself in most comfortable quarters at his hospitable house.

The next day I called with Sir Sandford



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Fleming at Rideau Hall, the Government House. The Governor-General received me most courteously in the short interview I had with his Excellency, which I the more appreciated, as this happened to be "Mail day," when his Lordship was more than usually occupied in consequence. I afterwards went over the House of the Dominion Parliament with Sir Sandford Fleming. This is indeed an imposing and superb pile of buildings. On the other side of the Ottawa River is the township of Hull, a suburb of Ottawa, where the disastrous fire commenced which did such terrible damage to the city a year or two ago. This I visited, and I was not surprised to hear of the tremendous destruction this fire caused, on seeing the large number of timber-yards stored with timber and other inflammable material, with which the township of Hull abounds.

Thursday the 31st of October was fixed for me to deliver another address on

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Imperial Federation. On this occasion I had to address a large audience at the Ottawa Board of Trade. The meeting, which was principally composed of commercial Citizens, was a gratifying success. During the delivery of my speech I felt conscious that I possessed the full sympathy of my audience, exactly as I had previously done on a similar occasion at Toronto. Mr. John Coates, the President of the Board of Trade, who arranged for my having the opportunity of delivering this address, took the chair.

The following is a report of the meeting extracted from the *Ottawa Morning Citizen* of November 1 :—

“ Sir Frederick Young, of London, England, a distinguished member of the Royal Colonial Institute, delivered an address in the Board of Trade chamber yesterday afternoon on Imperial Unity. The distinguished gentleman during his brief visit in the city has made many friends, and

Mr. John Coates, President of the Board of Trade, is to be congratulated on his happy forethought in arranging for an address by Sir Frederick on a theme of Empire-wide importance. Although the meeting was held at a busy hour of the afternoon, there was a large attendance of prominent business men, a fact which must be construed as showing the deep interest in the important question.

"In introducing the distinguished speaker, Mr. Coates said the events of the past two years, particularly in connection with the war in South Africa, have tended to the promotion of a better feeling throughout the Empire.

"Sir Frederick upon rising was received with applause. After briefly reviewing his relation to the subject of Imperial Unity as a founder and promoter, he said—

"It has long been a cardinal principle in my political creed as respects Imperial questions, that a system of government



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should be inaugurated by which certain Imperial, as quite apart from local, subjects should be dealt with by a body of representative men of the whole Empire. This Council or Senate, fairly and justly chosen, consisting of the recognised wisest and best and most influential statesmen of the Empire, should be the supreme Council of the whole British nation. Local Parliaments would fall into line next to this highest national tribunal to deal with all local matters, as in fact they do at present in all the self-governing Colonies, which would, without the slightest interference with their local independence whatever, in addition to their present powers, send their proportionate representatives to the supreme Parliament or Senate, in which every member so sent by each individual Colony would be on perfect equality and possess equal privileges for counsel, advice, and control. I should like to say what I am continually compelled to enforce: that this proposal does not in

the slightest degree involve the parting with their entire and most perfect independence on the part of the self-governing Colonies. It is not so. It proposes to give them a substantial share, on the contrary, in the government of the whole Empire.

“I should here like to say a few words as to the kind of subjects contemplated under a system of government by Imperial Federation. I mentioned them a few days ago at Toronto. I repeat them at Ottawa. These might be designated under the heads of—

“Peace and war ; National defence ; Communication between the heart and extremities of the nation ; Colonisation and fiscal subjects from a national standpoint.

“These subjects are all of vital importance to the whole Empire, and ought to be legislated for by the properly chosen representatives of the whole Empire. I am anxious to impress on my audience the deep issues connected with them all, which

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deserve the greatest possible consideration. I would especially, at the moment, touch on only two of them, as the others seem to be so obvious to any one who thinks seriously on the subject from his individual interest as a citizen. Those I refer to are communication between Great Britain and her Colonies, and Colonisation. I will take first the question of State-owned cables as covering this subject.

“Here I must pay a highly deserved tribute to the admirable energy displayed by the Ottawa Board of Trade in the powerful circular it addressed on the subject under date of the 20th June 1901, to the various bodies representing trade and commerce throughout the Empire, and which reflects so much credit upon it as a representative and highly important organisation, on Imperial postal communication.

“The other question is the subject of Colonisation. Can any subject be of greater importance than this one to the whole of

the outlying parts of the Empire, and especially to Canada? Why is it that for years and years gone by the home Government, which ought to have set the example of a sound national policy in this direction, has been so supine on the subject? Why have such countless numbers of her valuable sons not been directed by proper inducements to settle on her own vast waste lands in Canada instead of drifting to the great Republic to the south of the Dominion. I contend that it is not climate, nor unproductiveness of soil, nor any other substantial cause, but supineness and neglect of the public authorities connected with the home Government of England long ago! I have already alluded to my own humble share in endeavouring to induce a change in the attitude of apathy and indifference in this respect, by voice and pen, regretfully, I say, without much success!

“The strange and suicidal neglect of this question is more than ever emphasised

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in the present day by the natural anxiety and apprehension on the part of far-seeing thinkers in Canada, lest their magnificent territory of waste land in the North-west should become peopled (as there seem to be serious symptoms of its being before long) by an alien and inferior and altogether undesirable race, instead, as it ought to be, by the steady, loyal, and hardy sons of Britain, whose natural heritage it undoubtedly is! Even in this eleventh hour I earnestly once more make a solemn appeal to their good sense and patriotism and prudence in favour of their own self-interests in the future, to insist on their governments, both Imperial and local, taking comprehensive and soundly politic steps to remedy this crying neglect of the national interests in its waste lands and the national estate!

“Gentlemen, I have occupied your time this afternoon in stringing together a few important questions of thought for reflection for all of us from whatever part we come,

of the grand Empire to which we belong, if we wish to do our duty, to ourselves, to our fellow-countrymen, and to our descendants, as citizens of Great Britain. We have just witnessed the magnificent conclusion of the splendid historical and (in its issues) far-reaching tour of their Royal Highnesses the Duke and Duchess of York throughout the great self-governing Colonies of the Empire. At the very moment I am speaking I seem to think I hear, from the news wafted to us across the ocean, the sound of the salvos of artillery and the booming of the cannon at Portsmouth this afternoon, which in the midst of a countless multitude of loving and loyal people, and in the presence of their King, Sovereign and Father, greet with joyful acclamation their safe return from their glorious tour to their native land. Have we not in this unique, this most successful and wonderful event, at the dawn of the twentieth century, a marvellous revelation in favour of the idea,

that the blessing of Providence has been vouchsafed to this Royal mission of sympathy and good-will towards the Colonies by the Royal Family of Great Britain, and of the signal proof it has given of the solidarity and real unity of the Mother Country and her Colonies.

“Once more I desire to quote a noble and remarkable utterance of your eloquent Premier, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, in addressing the rulers of Great Britain in this stirring sentence which has gone deep down into my heart: “Call us to your Councils.”

“I say when this is done on a perfect system of equality and power, we shall have what we Imperial Federationists desire to see accomplished—a Federation of the Empire.’

“Any scheme of Imperial Federation must involve the creation of a tariff arranging for a preference for all parts of the Empire. The policy of free trade at present in vogue in the Motherland is one-sided, being rendered abortive by the fact that

British exports have to climb over the tariff walls of every other country. Free trade to be successful would require the abolition of Protection in other parts of the world. Britain should recognise that it has its own kith and kin to look after, and any favours going should be extended to the Colonies going to make up the Empire. The great progress made by the nations is not due to fiscal policies alone, the speaker said, and emphasised this by pointing out that free trade and protective nations alike progressed.

"A vote of thanks to the distinguished visitor was moved by Mr. A. Holland and seconded by Mr. David MacLaren. The latter said that being a member of the Royal Colonial Institute he knew something of Sir Frederick's interest in the Colonies, and was glad that he had visited Ottawa.

"Captain Bernier, called on, said that when he lectured in London Sir Frederick Young was among the first to come forward in support of his scheme to go in search of the



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North Pole. Proceeding, Captain Bernier said that not only was he in favour of extending the Country east and west, but would like to see it.

“Sir James Grant, being invited by the chairman to address the meeting, remarked that it gave him great pleasure to be present and testify to the able and zealous work of Sir Frederick Young in bringing before the Statesmen of England and the world at large his impressions of the Federation of the Empire. In the incipient stage of this most important undertaking, Sir Frederick had to bear up against difficulties, and insufficient support, owing to a want of knowledge of the subject by the general public. As one of the leading lights of the Royal Colonial Institute, his cogency of argument and clearness of views on this subject gradually gained on the public mind, and now the world accepts Imperial Federation as a living problem, and one which strikes at the very root of the commercial operations

of the Empire. The nineteenth century had brought about great and remarkable advances in science and literature, but in the midst of every line of development the relationship of Imperial Federation to the best and most advanced interests of the Empire is of a positive and well-defined character. For a time its outcome or full force was checked, until the Colonial problems of Unity and Federation were adopted. Canada is now fortunately federated from ocean to ocean, and its trade throughout unified in principle, and where in consequence are there greater evidences of prosperity than in Canada, which will in a few years supply the food products of the Empire, independent of the great Republic to the south of us. The Australian Colonies have recently been federated and are now enjoying the outcome of their trade, uniform in every respect. Shortly, we feel confident, South Africa will be alike federated, and its

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peoples enjoying the outcome of British rule and British institutions. The visit of the Royal party to the various Colonies is an important and momentous event in the history of the Empire, leading as it undoubtedly will to a more thorough understanding of the wants and requirements of each Colony, and as to how a uniform basis of Colonial trade can be arrived at, not free trade, I fancy, but protected trade in order to conserve our best interests, be it preferential or otherwise, all of which, I feel confident, will engage the closest attention and observation of the great Colonial Minister, Chamberlain. The unification of the Empire has been well and amply marked by the various heroic Colonial forces that fought and fell in South Africa for the establishment of equal rights on the part of the Empire. Of the various Colonies I am confident the Duke and Duchess consider Canada as representing the brightest gem in the Colonial coronet

of the Empire. The trade problem is undoubtedly closely allied to Imperial Federation, and such men as Carnegie, Rockefeller and Pierpont Morgan are a striking object-lesson as to the trade development of our great and progressive neighbours over the way whom we respect in the midst of their prosperity, and why should we not do likewise? Self-preservation is the first law of nations, and I most sincerely trust there will be no half-hearted measures, but a full, an honest, and a thorough determination to guard our commercial interests and adopt what is most desirable out of the Federation of the Empire to accomplish so desirable an object.

“Ex-Mayor M’Leod Stewart said he was a friend of Sir Frederick Young for thirty years and was a life member of the Royal Colonial Institute. No one was more pleased than the speaker when in the jubilee year Her Majesty conferred on Mr. Young a K.C.M.G. No one was more worthy of the honour.

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"Sir Sandford Fleming said all felt grateful to Sir Frederick Young for his address and were rejoiced at the large attendance of prominent business men.

"The meeting closed with hearty cheers for Sir Frederick Young."

While staying with Sir Sandford Fleming, the editor of the *Ottawa Commonwealth* and also the editor of the *Morning Citizen* begged me to grant them interviews, which, as I was anxious to give as wide a publicity as possible to my views on the great national question which had brought me out to Canada, I had no hesitation in granting. The following are the accounts of my respective interviews, which they have published in their journals.

*The Commonwealth* published the following, with my approval:—

### "INTERVIEW WITH SIR FREDERICK YOUNG, K.C.M.G.

"Canada has had the advantage of a flying visit from Sir Frederick Young, K.C.M.G.

There is no name better known or more highly honoured among believers in Imperial consolidation than that of this veteran leader in the cause. Sir Frederick came to Canada as the guest of the Rev. G. M. Grant, C.M.G., but the dangerous illness of that gentleman, which, while it lasted, spread gloom throughout Canada, prevented him from entertaining his guest. Among his many other friends, who have the highest regard for him personally and because of the work he has done for the Empire, Sir Frederick was gladly welcomed. He visited Kingston, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and Quebec, sailing again for home on Wednesday, the 13th November. In the several cities he visited, the veteran Imperialist addressed public meetings, which were well attended by the leaders of thought, and which will have a great effect in moulding public opinion in the future. While in Ottawa, Sir Frederick Young was the guest of Sir Sandford Fleming, K.C.M.G., whose work in

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connection with the Imperial cable scheme and other practical departments of the policy of Imperial consolidation, is well known. *The Commonwealth* was favoured with an interview by Sir Frederick Young, the substance of which is given below. The reporter found him one of that class which Oliver Wendell Holmes so delightfully typified when he described himself as 'seventy-five years young.' Though at an age even beyond that, Sir Frederick has the alertness of mind and body which are usually the monopoly of youth. His vast range of experience, and the stores of learning—real learning—he has accumulated, are at perfect command of mind and tongue. Instead of the querulousness which goes with long years of low endeavour and dissatisfaction with attainment, there was the judicial calm of the heart that loves and the head that understands mankind. Instead of the reactionism or conservatism supposed to characterise those who have

passed the meridian of life, there was the buoyant optimism of the man who had seen and taken part in the accomplishment of great things. It is distinctly one of the privileges of newspaper life to be brought into contact with such a personality.

“Our representative’s first desire, naturally, was to have from one who has been so long and so prominently identified with the movement some account of the inception of the agitation which has won such marked success.

“‘In 1876,’ said Sir Frederick, ‘I published a book with the title “Imperial Federation.” At that time a few friends were associated with me who were quite as strongly convinced as I was of the need for the better organisation of the British Empire, among them the late Mr. Francis P. de Labilliere. The result of the agitation we carried on publicly and privately was the steady development of such a force of opinion in favour of our ideas that it was



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found desirable to organise a society for the more efficient carrying on of the work. Among those who associated themselves with us was the Right Hon. W. E. Forster, who took an active part in the formation of the society, which was called the Imperial Federation League, and of which he became the first chairman, I being one of the two deputy chairmen. The propaganda went on with increased activity and effectiveness under the league. On the death of Mr. Forster, the Right Hon. Mr. Stanhope, who had been Secretary of State for the Colonies, became chairman; and it was under his chairmanship that we succeeded in inducing the Government to hold, in 1887, the first great Colonial Conference. Sir Sandford Fleming and the late Sir Alexander Campbell were among the delegates to that conference. Mr. Stanhope's term of office was a most successful one in the work of the league, and at his death we felt his loss very deeply. Lord

Rosebery, who had been active in the work of the league, succeeded him. By this time the movement had developed beyond the preliminary stage. There was such a strong body of public sentiment behind us, not only in the Mother Country but in the Colonies, that we were called upon to do work more in the nature of preparing the public mind for the magnificent political edifice which we hoped some day to see. It was natural that this should bring out differences of opinion even among those who had been most closely associated in the preliminary work of, as it were, quarrying out the material for the structure. The result of this was such, that eventually it was deemed best to disband the league. Though an active member of the organisation, I recognised the fact, that to break up the league was the best way out of the difficulty at the time. Organisations do not matter—it is the idea that is important. The work for which the league had been

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formed was done, and the work yet to be done could be more effectively carried on by other organisations.'

" 'Had the deadlock anything to do with the trade question?'

" 'I believe it had.'

" 'Going back to what you have already said, how did you first come to take an interest in this question, and what led to your forming an opinion in favour of Imperial Federation?'

" 'In a sense, I have grown up with the sentiment for uniting the Motherland and the Colonies. In 1839, as a young man, I was actively engaged with Edward Gibbon Wakefield in helping to found the Colony of New Zealand. My thought of a united Empire did not arise at once, but, as it were, gradually forced itself upon me as I saw that and other Colonies grow in wealth and population, while constantly developing on lines of local self-government. The question, what was to become of these Colonies

—whether they were to become separate States, possibly enemies of the Mother Country, or were to be united with her in one great Federation—arose naturally in the mind of one who watched a Colony like New Zealand growing from infancy to its present size and importance. My ideas on the subject have never changed, in one sense, but they have ripened.’

“‘The object is now universally known as “Imperial Federation.” Who first used that name?’

“‘I think it must have been between my friend, Mr. de Labilliere, and myself. We used the term “Imperial,” but it must not be supposed that it is intended to suggest the idea of Imperialism as exemplified in the history of despotic Nations, as Rome, or Russia, for instance. That is not what we seek. We desire a world-wide union of Britain and her Daughter Nations, but with nothing in the nature of an Emperor or an Imperial Senate, as those words were

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understood in former Empires. The policy of freely conceding self-governing powers to the Colonies, or what are rapidly becoming Daughter Nations, as soon as they are ready to formulate a demand for them, is one of which I heartily approve, and it is the spirit thus exemplified that I desire to see continued. We seek, not a central power to control the Colonies, but a union worthy the best traditions of British freedom. I think, therefore, it might have disarmed some criticism and made our work plainer if we had used the word "National" instead of the word "Imperial." As to the word "Federation," that is almost the only one that could have been used. We do not seek to limit the self-governing powers of any part of the Empire, but to establish a means of dealing with those affairs in which all have a common concern.'

" 'When the movement was first launched, did you find a satisfactory response from the Colonies?'

“There was quite as good a response as we had any right to expect. But, the idea being a new one, in the form in which we presented it, there was not, at first, a perfect understanding of the position. As well as I can recollect my impressions of that time, the difficulty seemed to lie in a failure on the part of the Colonies to realise what could be done. Speaking with prominent men from the Colonies, we were often told, “Oh, the British Parliament will never consent to such changes as you propose”; or, “The change you suggest would be unconstitutional, and could not be effected.” In fact, the Colonies were too modest; they did not realise the power that they had or might have within the Empire. The British Parliament began, as we all know, in a Council, and was afterwards developed into its present form. There is no reason why it should not be further changed to meet the requirements of the British people. And, as to the Constitution, nothing can be

unconstitutional which the British people decide to be in their own interests. The Colonies have shown a determination to demand the recognition of their rights of self-government, but there seemed to be a disposition, in the days of which I now speak, to think that questions of Imperial policy were beyond their scope, and must be left to Downing Street. If this is to be the accepted rule, we must have a greater Downing Street, which shall act, not merely as representative of the Mother Country, but of all who are concerned in the Imperial affairs with which it deals.'

“‘And have the results of the agitation up to the present been satisfactory?’

“‘The results thus far, in my opinion, are decidedly promising. Of course, we have not yet reached the point where we can rejoice over a union of opinion upon many questions of detail, but the principle is being rapidly acquiesced in by the British people, both in the Mother Country and in the

Colonies. Further discussion will remove misunderstandings, smooth away existing difficulties, and give us such a force of opinion as will enable us to work out in practice the ideas we have formed. That there should be wide differences of opinion as to the details of such a great scheme as we have in hand is hardly to be wondered at. I have my own idea of the form that the proposed Federation should take, but I am not such a fool as to believe that my scheme, if formulated, would meet every difficulty or cover satisfactorily all the points that could be raised.'

“‘The ideas of one who has given so much attention to the question as you have done, and who has had the advantage of meeting personally and discussing this question with so many of its leading advocates in all parts of the Empire, would naturally be of the greatest value. You will then, perhaps, allow us to come a little closer to the question which is now before the British



people. We in Canada think that some practical steps towards the solution of the question have already been taken, or, at least, attempted, and your opinion upon these would be read with interest. Do you approve of Canada's successful efforts for the abrogation of the German and Belgian treaties, and the granting by Canada of a preference to the Mother Country?'

"'Most decidedly.'

"'Are you aware whether the Royal Colonial Institute has ever expressed approval of Canada's action?'

"'It has not. And for this reason: the Royal Colonial Institute, of which I am a Vice-President and an active Member, was formed, not for the purpose of advocating any particular plan for the closer union of the different parts of the Empire, but to promote the sentiment in favour of union. It is an organisation in which all those who favour a united Empire, regardless of the methods they

may desire to see adopted, can unite. For such a body to express approval of any plan would be to depart from its original purpose.'

" 'Has the British Empire League ever expressed any opinion on the question?'

" 'That body is a different one from the Royal Colonial Institute, and, perhaps, it might have been desirable that it should have dealt in some way with the question of Canada's action in the cases to which you refer. I am on the executive Committee of the league, but, of course, there are many of its members not so progressive as myself, and it is very likely that on many practical questions arising before the members of that body I should find myself in the minority.'

" 'Do you approve of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's challenge, "If you wish our assistance, call us to your Councils"?''

" 'I not only approve of it, but am delighted that Sir Wilfrid Laurier spoke these

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words. I am so thoroughly in accord with the idea he expressed that I quoted the words in my Toronto speech, and subsequently, at a meeting of the Ottawa Board of Trade, I used the words to which you have referred, and stated that they embodied my own idea of Imperial Federation. I would have been glad had the newspapers, in publishing my speech, printed that part of it in large type. This challenge should call forth a response on the part of the British people which should be voiced by resolutions of public bodies, by plain expressions of opinion in the Press, and also by some statement or action on the part of the Government.'

"'Coming now to the best form of organisation for the United Empire, would you proceed by utilising the existing British Houses of Parliament, or would you advocate the creation of a new Representative body?'

"'My own opinion is very strongly in

favour of a new Representative body, the present Parliament of Great Britain being continued as a Local Parliament for the United Kingdom. I do not by any means suggest that those who are now Members of that body should be excluded from the new Imperial Parliament. To the new Parliament would be committed all Imperial questions.'

"'You have probably observed that Professor Goldwin Smith, writing over his *nom de plume*, "A Bystander," complains of a lack of anything practical in the proposals of those who desire Imperial Federation. He likens them to the old scholastic discussion about the potentialities of a chimera buzzing in a vacuum, and demands to be told what shall be done with India and other Dependencies, the aggregate population of which forms five-sixths of the total population of the Empire. Would you like to be quoted as expressing an opinion upon that point?'

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“‘It seems to me that there is an easily distinguishable difference between a British self-governing Colony such as Canada, and a Dependency such as India. So far as I know, the object of those who favour Imperial Federation is to organise upon a basis of freedom and equality people of European blood and British allegiance, in all those parts of the world where they live in sufficient numbers to exercise practically the right of local self-government. I do not see why it should be inferred that we necessarily expect any change in the position of those parts of the Empire which do not come within that description. India will certainly not be worse off under Imperial Federation, and I should hope that her position would improve, as the settlement of this question left us free to deal with problems that have arisen, or that are arising there. Of course there may be some who have hopes of including India, but, for my part, I do not see why we should

take up that question now. There are also those who hope to see a union of Anglo-Saxon peoples, including the United States. Personally I have never been convinced by the arguments used in support of that proposal, and in any case I do not see why we should further complicate the question of federating the British Empire, a question already complicated enough.'

" 'There must be a fiscal as well as a political basis for the Empire. Would you advocate an Inter-Imperial trade preference? '

" 'There are so many, in England at any rate, who insist that a preferential tariff is a protective tariff, that one is apt to be misunderstood in expressing himself upon that point. Any duty imposed, whether for revenue purposes or for the purpose of perfecting a State organisation, must benefit somebody — must be a protective tariff in favour of some industry. But one does not declare himself a Protectionist by

approving of such tariff duties (those on tea and tobacco, for instance) as now exist in Great Britain. The principle of a duty upon goods coming into the Empire from outside, while goods exchanged within the Empire were free, might reasonably be adopted for the purpose of consolidating the interests of all those within the Empire. For my part, I am strongly in favour of an Inter-Imperial preference. The revenue raised by that duty should be used for purposes of Imperial Defence.'

"Should representation in the Imperial Senate be based upon population or upon the amount contributed by the several portions of the Empire?'

"For myself, I do not believe in the idea of so-much for so-much—it is too much like a joint-stock Company, and I do not think you can make the British Empire into a joint-stock Company. It might be found necessary to modify the principle of representation according to

population, but, with modification, that principle should apply.'

" 'You have expressed yourself as satisfied with the progress hitherto made. Would you express an opinion as to the prospect for the future?'

" 'I think that our success hitherto, and the manifest progress in the same direction, justify us in entertaining a hope of ultimate and complete success. I do not conceal from myself, however, the fact that opportunities do not last for ever, and that if we do not take advantage of the opportunity we now have, circumstances may intervene which will make the organisation of the Empire a task of great difficulty. My friend, Mr. de Labilliere, whose work in favour of this great project cannot be too highly praised, in a paper which was published in 1881, said: "In the early annals of the twentieth Century will have to be recorded the grandest success or most lamentable failure of a Nation to utilise the



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most splendid material the world ever furnished for constructing the best and greatest of its Empires." I think he was right in looking for the consummation of this project in the early years of this Century, and I am deeply gratified to believe that the British people will decide in the fulness of time in favour of a federation of the Mother Country and the world-wide and magnificent Colonial Empire which she has established.' "

*The Morning Citizen* of the 31st October also has a brief notice of my interview with the editor of that journal :—

"Sir Frederick Young, one of the leading exponents of Imperial Federation in England, is visiting in the city, the guest of Sir Sandford Fleming. Sir Frederick is visiting Canada for the first time, having come over on the invitation of his personal friend, Rev. Principal Grant, C.M.G., to be present at the laying of the corner stone of the new wing of Queen's University by the Duke

of Cornwall and York. Sir Frederick has visited Toronto and will visit Montreal and Quebec, and return to England early next month.

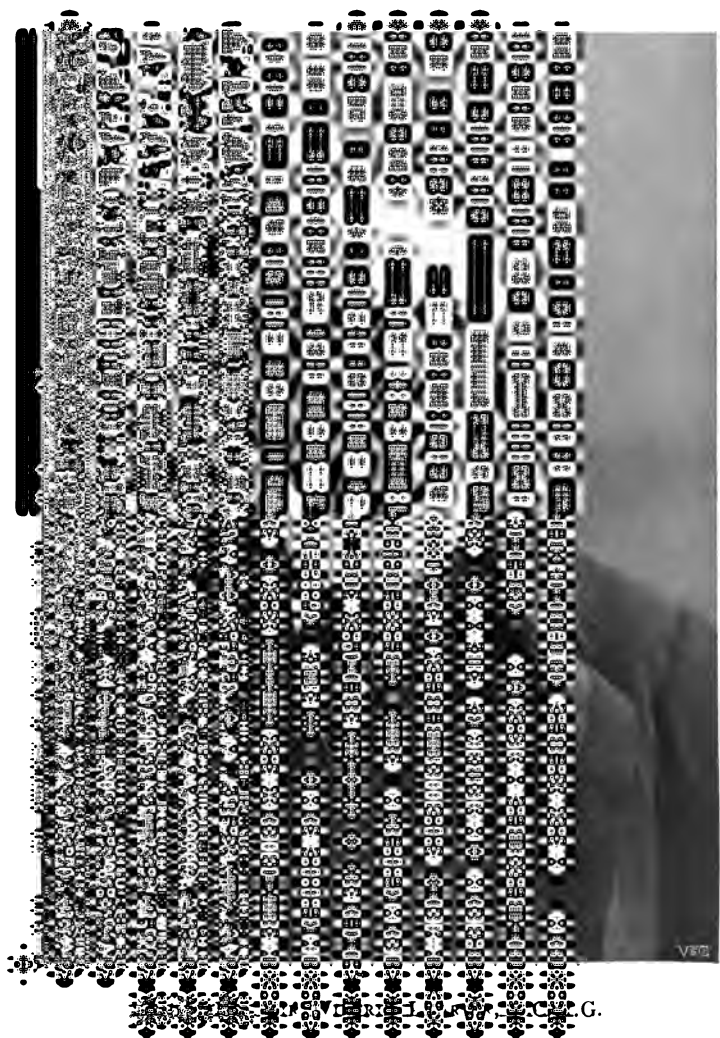
“Interviewed by a representative of the *Citizen* yesterday, Sir Frederick talked interestingly on questions of Imperial import. He is a fine type of the English gentleman, scholarly, and affable. He disclaims being a propagandist, but is an enthusiastic supporter of Imperial Federation. Sir Frederick says that public sentiment in England is becoming more favourable to Imperial Federation, but the great drawback is the popular apprehension over the element of Protection which is essentially associated with the proposal. Sir Frederick says the people worship the name ‘free trade’ rather than the thing itself. England does not enjoy free trade, as expressed in the term, as the freeness of trade is one-sided. There is free trade for imports, but the exports must climb over protective barriers, and Sir Frederick thinks

that when the people get over the glamour of the name they will see that a more advantageous fiscal policy could be devised than the present jug-handled arrangement. Fiscal politics, he thinks, do not contribute so much to the progress of a nation as popularly supposed. England prospers under Free Trade, and Germany, the United States, and other Nations under Protection.

“Sir Frederick says that the politicians play on the words ‘Free Trade’ to catch the votes of the unthinking masses, and this constitutes the biggest barrier in the progress of Imperial Federation.

“Sir Frederick is a hearty supporter of the scheme to girt the British Empire with a State-owned cable, and believes it would do much towards educating the people to see the advantages of federation.

“As to the war, Sir Frederick believes Britain came to be and must be first, but having travelled in South Africa, appreciates the difficulties the army is contending with.





"Sir Frederick will carry back from his short visit pleasant memories of Canada, a vaster impression of its greatness, and a greater zeal for the cause which he hopes some day will become a realisation.

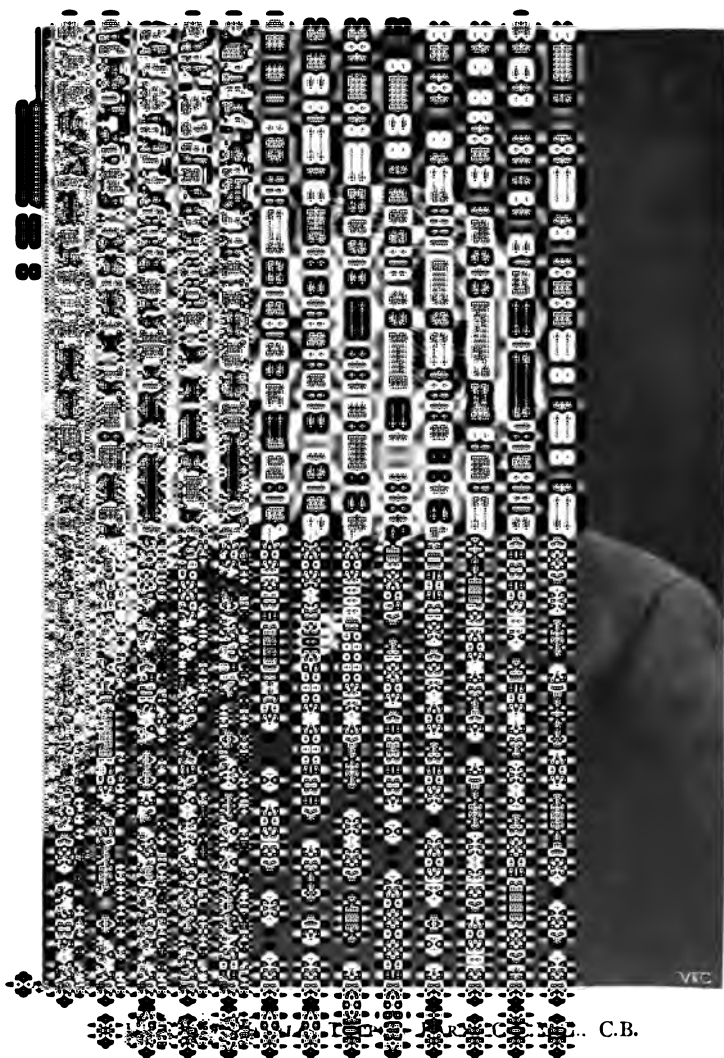
"Sir Frederick has consented, at the request of Mr. John Coates, President of the Board of Trade, to deliver an address on Imperial Federation this afternoon in the Board of Trade rooms at four o'clock."

During my stay at Winterholm Sir Sandford Fleming invited a succession of small parties of distinguished visitors to meet me at his house at dinner. Among them were Sir Wilfrid and Lady Laurier, Sir Adolphe and Lady Caron, Sir John and Lady Bourinot, Mr. Blair, the Minister of Railways, and Mrs. Blair, &c., &c. It was especially interesting to me to have the opportunity of meeting in private some of the prominent politicians of Canada, more especially Sir Wilfrid Laurier, with whom I had, one evening, a most interesting

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conversation on the subject of Imperial Federation.

Saturday, the 2nd of November, concluded my very pleasant as well as important and interesting visit to Ottawa, during which I had received such kind attention and genial hospitality from Sir Sandford Fleming. I left in the afternoon, and reached Montreal about 7.30 P.M. I proceeded to the Windsor Hotel, a most magnificent Establishment, where I met Sir Charles and Lady Tupper, quite unexpectedly. They had at that moment arrived in the s.s. *Tunisian* from England. It was certainly a most curious and unlooked-for coincidence and I was particularly glad to meet them.



C.B.





## CHAPTER V

### MONTREAL

MONTREAL is one of the finest, as well as one of the oldest and most celebrated cities of Lower Canada. It is also a great centre of commercial activity and trade. The city is pleasantly situated on an island on the St. Lawrence just below its confluence with the river Ottawa. Its history dates back to the year 1535, when Jacques Cartier ascended the St. Lawrence and visited the palisaded Indian village of Hochelaga, the site of which was accidentally re-discovered a few years ago in the centre of the upper part of the city of Montreal. About seventy years later Champlain visited the island and established a trading post, and in 1642 the town of Ville-Marie de Montreal was founded by a band of religious

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enthusiasts under Paul de Chomedy, Sieur de Maisonneuve. For several years the settlement of Ville-Marie was engaged in a continuous struggle with the Indians, but the indomitable courage and perseverance of the early settlers did much to break their power, and it soon after became not only the headquarters of the fur-trading Companies, whose operations extended to the far north-west, but the starting-point of numerous exploring expeditions organised by the French occupants of the country. Montreal was the last place in Canada held by the French, and was surrendered to the British forces in 1760. The town was occupied for a time in 1775 by the Americans under General Montgomery, but the citizens resisted all attempts to persuade them to join in the revolution against British rule. Since the war of 1812, when Montreal was more than once threatened by invading forces from over the border, the growth and development

of the City has been steady but sure. Montreal is now the seat of the chief Banks, trading Corporations, and business Institutions in the Dominion, and is adorned by numerous beautiful parks and squares as well as many historical landmarks of bygone days. It is also a great educational centre, for here is the well-known McGill University, which was founded in the year 1821 and has from time to time been richly endowed by several public-spirited Citizens, and is one of the foremost educational institutions in the world. There is also Laval University, another important educational institution, mainly for French-Canadians, and numerous other schools and colleges. Montreal possesses numerous churches, including the imposing Cathedral of St. James, which is a reproduction on a reduced scale of St. Peter's at Rome, and the Church of Notre Dame, which is one of the largest edifices in America and possesses a fine chime of eleven

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bells, one of which, "Le Gros Bourdon," is the heaviest in America. One of the chief attractions of Montreal is Mount Royal Park, which covers about 460 acres and is most beautifully situated. From its highest point the view of the city and its environs is superb. The city contains numerous handsome private residences as well as palatial business premises, many of which are built of a fine grey limestone, which is quarried in the neighbourhood, and owing to the clearness of the atmosphere retains its original colour. The city is the centre of the great railway system of Canada and has large and varied industries which give employment to many thousand people. The importance of the city cannot be overestimated from the commercial point of view, and its busy appearance, with its long line of wharfage accommodation, alongside which the largest ocean-going steamers can be moored, cannot fail to attract the notice of the visitor.

I endeavoured to make the most of two brief visits to it by taking a "bird's-eye" peep at it and its beautiful surroundings. On the first evening after my arrival I dined at Lord Strathcona's beautiful house in Dorchester Street, which is all that great wealth can command to make it attractive. It was in this fine mansion that the Duke and Duchess of York stayed during their recent visit to Montreal. The picture gallery contains a great many interesting and several valuable pictures of the Old Masters, and others of modern art. Lord Strathcona also possesses a most interesting and costly collection of Japanese works of art.

One of the splendid and munificent gifts made by Lord Strathcona to the city of Montreal is the building and endowment at his own cost of the Royal Victoria Ladies' College. I went over this college with Miss Maud Parkin, the talented daughter of Dr. Parkin, who is

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a student at the college, and who is likely to have a very distinguished career. The College is a very fine establishment. At present, besides a large number of lady non-residents, there are about twenty-two resident students in it. An account of a subsequent visit to Montreal will be found in Chapter VII.

## CHAPTER VI

### QUEBEC

ON the morning of the 5th of November I left Montreal for a short visit to Quebec. A railway journey of about seven hours took me to that most renowned and most picturesque and beautiful city. I stayed while there at the Chateau Frontenac Hotel. This is an ideal establishment. Its commanding situation, overlooking the St. Lawrence River, makes a picture of extreme beauty. The views from the windows are superb. In the midst of the fine weather, which it was my good fortune to have enjoyed during my bright and pleasant visit to Canada, I feasted my eyes, that afternoon, on the lovely scene of hill, and dale, and river, stretching far away in the distance.



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For historical and romantic interest Quebec is perhaps unsurpassed on the American continent. In addition to occupying a most picturesque and magnificent position, it is a very old and quaint town, in which the French language, laws, and customs are perpetuated amongst the inhabitants. Its history may be said to date back to the year 1535, when it was visited by Jacques Cartier, and was known as the Indian town of Stadacona, which signifies "the narrowing of the river." There were subsequent attempts at settlement, but the actual founding of the city did not take place until the year 1608, when Champlain established a small post, and succeeded, where others had failed, by adding agricultural settlers to the small band of fur-traders then residing in the country. With a natural colonising instinct Champlain, in spite of difficulty, introduced a system of colonisation which materially assisted in adding to the number of

European settlers and in laying the foundation of this interesting city. It was not until the year 1759 that Quebec finally came into British possession, when by the daring and subsequent victory of General Wolfe, which is so well narrated in the works of Francis Parkman, the town was occupied by his victorious troops, and although subsequently again attacked by the French, has ever remained a brilliant monument to the skill and strategy of the celebrated British general. To this day the Plains of Abraham, the site of this great battle which added a half continent to the British Empire, have been jealously preserved by the Canadian people, and are one of the sights of this historic old town. The subsequent history of Quebec may be described as uneventful. For several years it was the capital of United Canada, and in the old Parliament House the famous Confederation debate took place subsequent to the Congress held at Charlottetown,

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Prince Edward Island, at which the project first took definite shape. To turn to more recent times, the "Gibraltar of America," as Quebec has often been called, is now a flourishing city of considerable activity, containing 69,000 inhabitants, of which a very large proportion are of French extraction, but at the same time amongst the most loyal and devoted to the Empire of all British subjects. It has been very truly said<sup>1</sup> that "Quebec is like a transplanted city—a French town of olden times set down in American surroundings, in which the chief characteristics of mediæval Europe and modern America are deftly and delightfully interwoven; and around it are clustered a host of legendary memories." Quebec, like Ottawa, consists of an Upper and Lower town. In the former are to be seen many interesting relics of bygone days, whilst a walk along Dufferin Terrace, part of which occupies the site of the old

<sup>1</sup> "Montreal, the Canadian Metropolis."

Chateau of St. Louis, built by Champlain in 1620, is one of the most beautiful that can be imagined. The view of the surrounding scenery, with the winding streets of the Lower town, the noble St. Lawrence, studded with vessels of all descriptions, and the numerous villages along its banks, assist in making a panorama of exceeding beauty and interest. The Citadel stands upon the highest point of the plateau, and is now garrisoned by the Canadian Permanent Militia. The chief business houses are situated in the Lower town, the shores of the St. Lawrence being lined with numerous warehouses and quays. The buildings of interest, in addition to those already mentioned, include the Seminary of Quebec and Laval University, the Post Office, the Morrin College, the Parliament and Departmental Buildings, the Anglican Cathedral, the Basilica or Roman Catholic Cathedral, and the Louise Basin, which has a wet-dock of forty acres in area, and a tidal-dock

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of about half that size. Quebec is the port of entry of the Atlantic steamers in summer and the landing-place of emigrants, who are well cared for in the Immigration Barracks situated on the Louise Embankment until they are forwarded to their ultimate destinations.

Quite apart from its memorable historical associations, I think I admire Quebec more than any of the cities I have seen in Canada. The morning after my arrival I left the Frontenac Hotel at an early hour in order to accept an invitation I had received from the Hon. Mr. Dobell,<sup>1</sup> one of the Ministers of the Dominion, to breakfast at

<sup>1</sup> A few weeks after my return to England a most melancholy and fatal accident happened to Mr. Dobell, who had left Canada just before I did myself, for the purpose of having a holiday of a few months on the Continent of Europe. On the 11th of January 1902 he was riding from Hythe to Folkestone (where he was staying) with his son-in-law, Major Hull, when he was thrown from his horse and killed on the spot. This was indeed a most terrible catastrophe. As an old friend, and as one with whom I had long been working in the great cause of Imperial Federation, I was much shocked and grieved when the news reached me. I heartily sympathise with his family at the sudden and sad loss they have sustained.

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his pretty country house, Beauvoir Manor, a few miles from Quebec. After breakfast I returned with him to the city, passing through his fine grounds and park of about 300 acres to the lower road *en route* to his business office. During our drive there I had an opportunity of noticing the effect which the course of commercial business takes from prosperity to adversity, when a revolution in trade occurs in any article of importance. This is especially the case in the timber trade of Quebec, in which Mr. Dobell himself is largely engaged. We passed several hamlets, the houses of which were now almost uninhabited, and which were rapidly falling into decay, in front of which, on the river bank, were several large basins or reservoirs, quite empty, which Mr. Dobell assured me were formerly filled with timber being seasoned for sale. One of the principal causes of this unfortunate change to the trading community of Quebec has been the substitution of iron for wood in

shipbuilding, but others, also, have contributed to this catastrophe from the revolution in the course of trade, the melancholy evidences of which were so conspicuously brought before me during my drive into Quebec.

On returning to the city I went over the fine Princess Louise Docks, which were opened by Her Royal Highness the Princess Louise, during the time the Marquis of Lorne (now the Duke of Argyll) was Governor-General of Canada. I visited the capacious goods Warehouses, well filled with every description of produce, and the Emigration Department.

With the latter I was much pleased. The arrangements appeared to me to be very good and satisfactory for receiving and taking care of the Emigrants on their first arrival at Quebec. I saw a good many who had only just arrived at the Dépôt, and they appeared to me to be well cared for, and fairly comfortable.

A pilgrimage to the celebrated Plains of Abraham filled me with thoughts of the memorable deeds enacted on that heroic ground. I paced over the renowned battlefield, and gazed on the monument erected to the gallant General Wolfe on the spot where he died on the 13th of September 1759, on the field of the great battle fought on that never-to-be-forgotten day between himself and General Montcalm, in which the French were defeated. It was indeed a great and glorious day for England. It was a famous victory, and it resulted in the total expulsion of the French, as a ruling power, from Canada.

The next day, which was a most beautiful one, with a bright sun and cloudless blue sky, I went a short railway ride to see the Falls of Montmorency. They are certainly justly celebrated. The volume of water perpetually pouring down cannot, of course, for one moment be compared to Niagara. The fall is, however, a fine one.



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It is 150 feet, which is higher than Niagara.

At the house of Mr. and Mrs. MacPherson, who are leading residents of Quebec, I met some very pleasant people. Among others of the party were the Abbé Crozier and the Rev. Robert M. Scott, a clergyman of the Church of England. They are ardent Federationists, and both are warm supporters of my views and sentiments on the subject.

I visited the Laval Roman Catholic University, which is a vast building of the seventeenth century. Here I had a delightful and most important interview with another strong supporter of Imperial Federation. This was the Abbé La Flamme, who vehemently declared to me that he had no wish whatever to give up the British flag for that of France or any other nation; that he regarded himself as a loyal subject of the British Crown.

The importance of such sentiments on the

part of leading members of the Roman Catholic hierarchy in Lower Canada is very great. Their influence is immense over their flock. The Habitans, the large majority of the people, are led by these, their spiritual advisers, in temporal and mundane matters also. The political opinions and views of these highly intellectual and educated classes inevitably permeate the masses, who look up to them for guidance and direction in social as well as religious affairs.

I dined with the officers of the garrison at the Citadel as the guest of Mr. Dobell. In finding myself within the walls of this celebrated fortress, my imagination could not but be stimulated at the recollection of its splendid past, and distinguished history.

On Friday the 8th of November, with great regret at being compelled to make such a very short stay at this most beautiful, charming, and attractive city, I left Quebec by an early morning train for Montreal.

Besides the few noted spots I visited, and

which have been mentioned, I was greatly attracted by many of the fine old buildings and public establishments, ancient and modern, of this fascinating city. The position of Quebec is also so wonderfully picturesque, built, as it is, above the banks of the noble river St. Lawrence, over which it towers as a grand fortress and sleepless sentinel, to guard the Eastern Provinces of the Dominion. It is indeed a sight to see and to dream of. I carried away with me a very deep and delightful impression of its attractions, as well as of the kindness and attention paid to me by so many of its principal people.

In five or six hours after leaving Quebec I again arrived at Montreal. For the first hour after starting it snowed rather heavily. This is the first snow I have seen in Canada.

During this day's journey I was attracted and somewhat perplexed (as on some previous occasions, in travelling through

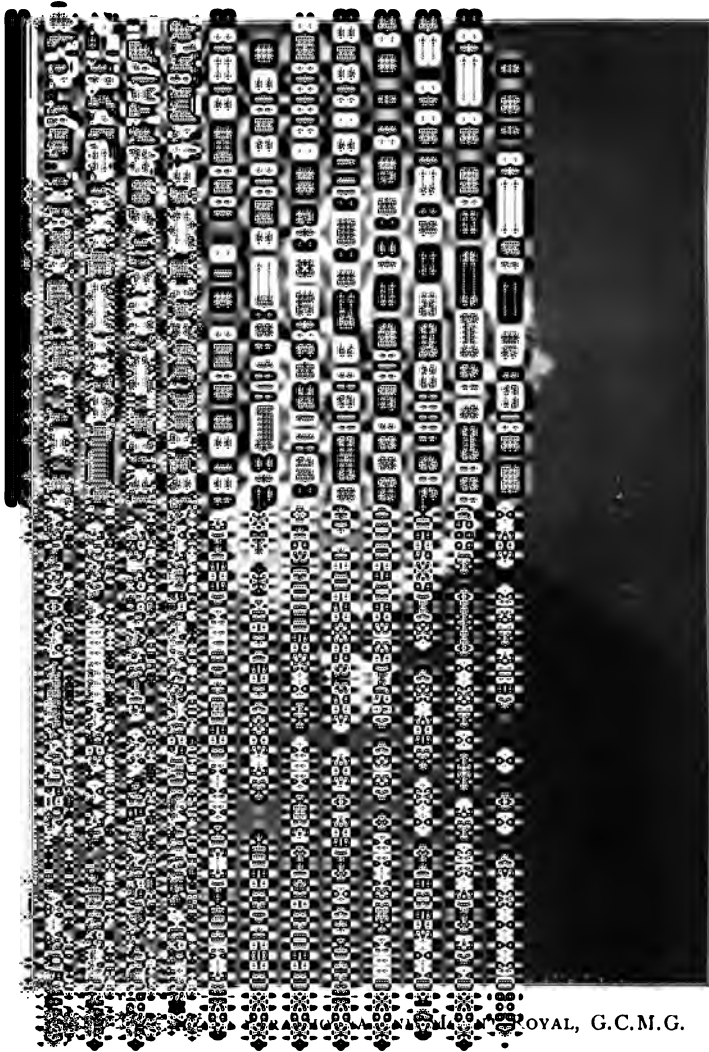
some parts of the province of Ontario, as well as Quebec), by noticing the immense length and narrow width of many of the fields which skirted the line. I could not understand the reason of this particular form and shape of them. I have since had the cause explained to me. It is this. "The early Canadian lived in constant dread of the Iroquois, and was always ready to go off at a moment's notice to repel an Indian raid into the Iroquois country. The farmers in the outlying settlements never knew when they went to bed at night but that their houses would be burnt over their heads before morning. This constant state of war has left its mark upon the country to the present day. The inhabitants would not live in villages as their governors tried to make them. They would live on their farms. And yet isolation would be fatal, so they could not (even if they wished to do it for other reasons) build their houses in the middle of four square farms, as are seen

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to-day in the North-West. They solved the problem by laying out the country in long ribbon-like farms, each having a narrow frontage on a river, and building their houses in a string along the bank of a stream. They were thus within easy hail of each other. The Iroquois peril is now forgotten, but new farms are still laid out in the same ribbon pattern, with the houses strung along the edge of river or road."

I am indebted to Mr. Howard Angus Kennedy, a gentleman who has lived for many years in Canada, and especially among the French Canadians, for this explanation, which I have quoted from an interesting paper he read at a meeting of the Royal Colonial Institute on the 10th of December 1901.

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ROYAL, G.C.M.G.

## CHAPTER VII

### MONTREAL AGAIN

SATURDAY, the 9th of November, being His Majesty's birthday, was duly celebrated by every outward sign of loyalty by the citizens of Montreal. One of the principal functions which took place on this occasion was the King's grand birthday banquet given by the High Commissioner for Canada, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, at his beautiful residence in Dorchester Street, to a large number of official representatives and other distinguished public men of the Dominion. It was a brilliant gathering of one hundred and fifty guests over which His Lordship presided. His Grace the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Montreal, Monseigneur Bruchesi, sat on the Chairman's right hand,



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and I on the left. It was said to be the most largely attended and most representative private function that had ever taken place in the City.

The distinguished host proposed the two usual loyal toasts, both of which were honoured as becomes a loyal British gathering. The Archbishop of Montreal then proposed the health of Lord and Lady Strathcona and Mount Royal. In doing so, Monseigneur Bruchesi, speaking in English, expressed the wishes of the citizens of Montreal for the continued good health of their host and hostess, concluding by wishing them a *bon voyage* on their approaching visit to England, and a safe return to Canada.

After the banquet a reception was given, which was very largely attended by ladies and gentlemen, the beauty and rank and fashion of Montreal, who were anxious to show their loyalty to His Majesty by their presence on this occasion, which

afforded them such an attractive opportunity of celebrating the birthday of their King.

Sunday, the 10th of November, was a beautiful day, but the air was very keen, sharp, and piercing. I attended the morning service at Christchurch Cathedral of Montreal, which was of the usual Cathedral character. The choir was comprised of a mixed assembly of young men and women. The latter were the girl graduates of the Royal Victoria College, dressed in their College caps and gowns. The sermon was preached by the Rev. Mr. Boyle, a youthful Clergyman, who had had a distinguished career at Upper Canada College, Toronto. He preached a very eloquent *ex tempore* sermon. His text was taken from the third chapter of St. Paul's Epistle to the Philippians and the 20th verse: "For our citizenship is in heaven."

This beautiful text inspired the Preacher with a delightful opportunity of referring

to the British Empire and the connection of the Mother land, as the centre of British civilisation, and her daughter Colonies. I was greatly impressed and pleased with it. I rejoiced at the opportunity of listening to such a sermon, so full of sentiments of the lofty principles and tone which are capable of being infused into the hearts of a great though widely scattered Nation by the leaders of high thoughts and exalted ideas of Christian civilisation when it is bound together by the ties of one common Nationality, the whole permeated by a firm and loyal and lasting union.

While I was listening in wrapt attention to Mr. Boyle's beautiful and eloquent address, another sermon on Britain was being preached by Dean Carmichael, the rector of St. George's Church. These two sermons, preached on the same Sunday in Montreal in especial recognition of the Royal birthday of the British

Empire's Sovereign, are so striking and remarkable, as evidence of the loyalty of the Canadian people, that I desire especially to record them. The opportunity is afforded me of doing so at some length in the case of Dean Carmichael's sermon in consequence of the report of it published in the *Montreal Gazette* of Monday, November 11, 1901. It is as follows:—

“The King's birthday was marked at St. George's Church yesterday by an eloquent sermon by Very Rev. Dean Carmichael, which was listened to by a more than usually large Congregation. Taking as his text Numbers xxiii. 21, ‘The shout of a king is among them,’ Dean Carmichael said:—

“‘Israel, at the time that Balaam spoke these prophetic words, was a Nation composed of different tribes, all sprung from one stock—indeed from one family. His words were, no doubt, mainly prophetic

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of the coming times of David and Solomon, when tribal feelings would be largely merged into a National enthusiasm, and the whole family would willingly join in the shout, "God save the King." When he looked on them in his own time, he looked on them as a "Royal People," for even then, kingless in an earthly sense, the greatness and vigour of a successful monarchy seemed to characterise them, even then fresh from their wilderness life. The shout of a King was among them; but, no doubt, as I said, his words were prophetic.

"The deathlessness of Israel as a distinct people is one of the most remarkable evidences of the truth of prophecy that we possess. As a people they have looked for millenniums on the ruins of other Nations far greater in every earthly sense than they. Kingless for centuries, no King that ever lived has, on the whole, wielded such lasting and abiding power.

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The shout of a King is not on the lips of one man, or in a family of men ; it seems in the people themselves. "Perpetuate your lineage, hold fast what you possess, and add to your power, increase your wealth, for though you have no King, the shout of a King is among you—it is in yourselves as a people."

"The only cases I know where it may be said the shout of a King is among you, that is, in the people themselves, is that of Great Britain, and the Greater Britain, which exists under the British flag.

"It does not need republicanism to create the highest form of liberty. The fact has been proved that a Nation can possess a King, with all the state and splendour of a Royal court ; with all the force of example which a good King or good Queen can set, and yet be the freest Nation on earth. So free to express, and mould opinion, to oppose, or openly

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retard legislation, to criticise and condemn the action of those in authority, to set in motion great National movements, or to change or wipe out rooted Institutions, that one sometimes feels like thinking that Britain is too free. For there literally seems to be no National enemy or depraver of Kings, and Parliaments, or foe of Government, that, flying from his own Country, cannot find a home under the protection of the British flag.

“Kings that have lost Crowns, Republican leaders that have lost grip over the masses, blind leaders of the blind, whose native land means prison and death, all find a home in Britain, not because a King happens to be liberal-minded, but because the shout of an ancient King is vested in the people, and the people demand almost unbounded liberty of voice and opinion—actually sometimes going so far as to appoint government officials to preserve liberty of speech in a gathering where

every speaker assails the Government and Institutions of the Country.

“‘It has in some sense been always so—it seems in the blood of the people, from the days of older England, when the free necked man, whose long hair floated over a neck which had never bowed to a lord, elected his own earl or leader, and when all precedence and authority and allegiance rested on the free-will of those who gave the precedence, created the authority, and tendered the allegiance. From the beginning rulers and men of war were exalted because the shout of Kingship, of rule, or order, was in the people, and though, in years after, Royal hereditary rule held its own, the “shout of a King” was heard in the great parliamentary voice of the “Mother of Parliaments,” a shout that has never been so free and untrammelled as it is at this present moment.

“‘The “shout” is among them world



over, wherever the standard of Britain waves. Of late the term "Greater Britain," or, as the King has styled it in his proclamation, "Our British Dominions beyond the Sea," has come into use. In days gone by, Phœnicia, Greece, and Rome, Genoa and Venice, Spain and Portugal, might have spoken of their widespread possessions, but all such have passed into nothingness, and Britain stands to-day mistress of one-sixth of the land surface of the globe, and nearly the same proportion of its population.

“And the marvel is that wherever the flag flies, wherever fresh ground is broken, wherever the young life of Britain seizes on a vantage point for the development of new-born enterprise, the natural aim seems to be that of securing that form of self-government which the man of Britain regards as his birthright, yet that, without severing the bonds which unites him to the Mother of Nations that gave him birth.

“‘East and west, and north and south, the foot of the British pioneer is the herald of British Institutions—it means strength, in place of weakness; liberty, in place of slavery; free speech, and free pen, instead of gagged speech, and a ruthless censorship of the Press that even implies National weakness, if not timidity—everywhere with the step of the Emigrant is a sense of power, of force to surmount difficulties, and finally ensure success—everywhere, east and west, and north and south, the “shout of a King is among them.”

“‘It is a tremendous responsibility in the sight of the living God—a responsibility that has been made apparent lately by the voyage of our future King and Queen round the world. Surely no stronger object-lesson could be looked on by those in seats of high authority than the fact that wherever the Royal party landed they stepped on British soil, and that world over, in ever-varying lands and scenes,

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their eyes saw as an emblem of British dominion, the British flag.

“‘It is an awful responsibility ; time alone can tell how the giant problem of governing such an Empire will work itself out, but God rules, and if Britain can only rise with advancing years of life and power to a keener realisation than now it possesses of the fact that it is God’s agent for God’s glory in the world, our children’s children, and theirs, for generations, may learn that the surest recipe for keeping a vast Empire together is for the Empire to acknowledge God as the source of every blessing.

“‘Yesterday, the world over, was celebrated the birthday of our King, whom may God bless and keep, and preserve in health and strength for long and many a year to come. The joyful observance of such days is not without a deep political and National meaning. Where they are welcomed, where their observance is naturally and spontaneously associated with a

willing loyalty, they cannot but fail to strengthen the life of the Nation.

“Some years back not a few pessimists more than hinted, indeed openly stated, that royalty in England would die with the death of England’s greatest Queen. What utter folly! Never did Monarch assume the Royal sceptre with greater quietness and becoming dignity than our present King, and never, I believe, was the Empire more firmly wedded to the Throne, and the Throne to the Empire, than at this present moment. War may bring its sorrows, its regrets and long-protracted troubles. Britain may, to a great extent, stand to-day, as, indeed, she has always stood, largely an isolated Power, but “with her seed in herself” no King that ever ruled her has had at his back, and at his beck, a more consolidated and loyal host of subjects.

“His sun rose at a time when the sunset of his Royal Mother’s life was so

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brilliant and beautiful that it seemed to reach into and dim the dawn of his kingly advent, but the loving grace and chastened dignity with which the Son lifted the sceptre that had fallen from his Mother's hand has gathered around him a loving allegiance, that no doubt years will strengthen as time runs on.

“‘It was hard at first to say “God save the King,” with the memory of the great Queen resting on the words, but everything points toward the fact that in the Kingly Son we possess a constitutional monarch, that if his life be spared through a long reign, his name will go down to posterity as the great and wise son of the greatest and wisest Queen. And so to-day we lift our hearts to Him who ruleth all and cry “God save the King.”’”

### AT THE CHURCH OF THE ADVENT.

“The annual service of the Sons of England Benevolent Association, Westmount

Lodge, was held last Evening at the Church of the Advent. It was largely attended, and the church was becomingly decorated with British and Canadian flags. Rev. A. J. Doull, the Rector, preached a strong sermon on 'Patriotism,' taking as his text Psalm cxxxvii. 5, 6. Mr. Doull referred to the intense patriotism of the Jews, which was not only noble but divine, and pointed out that true patriotism must be based on love of Country, and a belief that God had entrusted their Nation with a special mission. The Sons of England were banded together to develop Patriotism. England, their own country, was worthy of their love, and had in the providence of God been entrusted with a special mission. This special mission was the spreading of the gospel to all the world. It was the object of the society to realise England's mission, and to aid in the divine work. If England was to accomplish her mission, every son of

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England must endeavour to uphold the honour and reputation of his Country. The honour of their Country depended upon the honour of the individual. If the individual was noble, and the family trained and nurtured in God, the future of our Country was assured."

In company with Mr. Henry Bovey, of McGill University, I visited the Redpath Library. It is a very handsome building, admirably constructed. It is another example of the public spirit and generosity of the opulent citizens of Montreal. It was founded at the sole expense of the late Mr. Peter Redpath. I was accompanied by Sir Sandford Fleming, who had never before visited the Redpath Library. We were afterwards taken by Mr. Bovey over the Mining Department of McGill University. It is replete with every kind of the most modern scientific appliances for the use of experimental Students, who are thus

given every possible facility for developing any discovery they may make in the important branch of study to which they have devoted themselves.

My brief and rapid visit to Canada was now concluded. It was a most deeply interesting one to me personally. Undertaken avowedly in close connection with the advocacy of a great national political question, I am hopeful to think that it may have been of some use, and produced some effect in regard to it. I have been received throughout my tour with most flattering and unbounded attention by every one in every City I have visited. I have also had many unquestionable proofs of the warm sympathy and approval of a large number of the most influential and prominent political and commercial public men in the views I have from time to time had an opportunity of expressing, on the subject of Imperial Federation.



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On Monday the 11th of November I left the Windsor Hotel, Montreal, for New York, by the 8.40 A.M. train of the Grand Trunk Railway. This is a long railway journey of 390 miles and takes a whole day to accomplish. The country through which we passed was in many places pretty and picturesque. This was especially the case on the shores of Lake Champlain, along which the railway runs for a great many miles. On the land side there are several hills, just then capped with snow. On my arrival I stopped again at the Manhattan Hotel. My room on this occasion was on the twelfth floor, reached by the elevator. It was a sort of "sky parlour," I thought! These high storeys are very usual in many of the modern hotels and other buildings of New York.

The next day was the last I passed on the American Continent. It was, unfortunately, a miserably damp, cheerless,

and altogether unpleasant one. The streets were very muddy and disagreeable, which prevented me seeing more of New York than it was practicable for me to do. As, however, I had already engaged a passage to England in the *Oceanic*, I had to make a call at the offices of the White Star Line, which are situated at quite the other end of the city from the Manhattan Hotel, at No. 9 Broadway. I started soon after breakfast in one of the very convenient street cars which traverse New York in every direction and was nearly an hour reaching my destination. My drive, however, enabled me to see some of the finest parts of the city.

I spent the afternoon at the Manhattan. The weather being so miserable and unpromising, there was no inducement to go out for the rest of the day. After dining at the hotel, I drove in a close carriage to the docks, in order to go on board the *Oceanic*, as she

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was appointed to sail from New York early the next morning. Punctually at seven o'clock on Wednesday the 13th of November the *Oceanic* started from her moorings, and she was very soon in the open sea. The morning was fine and the sun was shining, but the air was very cold. The sea was rather rough, but the *Oceanic* is a fairly steady Steamer, and she was only slightly affected in her motion. There were about two hundred saloon passengers on board. Among them were Lord and Lady Strathcona and their daughter and son-in-law, the Hon. Mrs. Howard and her husband Dr. Howard, and their children. By the courtesy of the Managers of the White Star Line, a very commodious and comfortable cabin was placed at my disposal, for which I felt much indebted to them. It was rather a large apartment, altogether much superior to the one I occupied on my outward voyage across the Atlantic.

The homeward voyage was to me much the same, and with much the same description of uneventful incidents, as the outward one. Its duration was within a few hours the same—seven days! Occasionally the sea was very rough, and the *Oceanic*, in spite of her great size, rolled a good deal, rendering dressing and moving about the ship generally an effort requiring some skill to preserve one's equilibrium. Off the banks of Newfoundland we experienced the usual unpleasant fogs for some forty-eight hours, rendering our progress very slow, and compelling frequent resort to the odious foghorn. I felt myself fortunate in meeting on board several pleasant and agreeable companions. Among them, in addition to Lord and Lady Strathcona, Dr. and Mrs. Howard and their nice young family, were Sir Wemyss Reid, Mr. Cedric Erland, a gentleman who has travelled much in Russia, Germany,

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France, Italy, and Spain, as well as in the United States of America and Canada. He expressed himself as being in entire sympathy with me in all my views of Imperial Federation. He told me he was devoting himself to the commercial side of that great subject, of which I was endeavouring by every means to bring about the political part. We had several long and interesting conversations during the voyage about it. I also made the acquaintance of Mr. Spencer Lyttelton, a son of the late Lord Lyttelton, Chairman of the Canterbury Association, with whom I was associated so many years ago, during the foundation of the Canterbury Settlement in New Zealand. I was introduced to Mr. Spencer Lyttelton by Sir Wemyss Reid, when we had a pleasant, and to me a very interesting talk. He asked me if I had ever been in New Zealand. I was, of course, disappointed to be

compelled to reply in the negative. Having been there himself, he bore testimony to the great and remarkable progress of that wonderful Colony, with the foundation of which I had myself been so closely identified. I found he had not yet read Dr. Garnett's "Life of Edward Gibbon Wakefield." He mentioned several names of people connected with the early history of Canterbury which were quite familiar to me, as I knew them personally, such as Sewell, Henry Selfe Selfe, John Robert Godley, and others. Mr. Lyttelton is the nephew of Gladstone, and a cousin of the late Francis Lawley. I showed him Mr. Lawley's letter to me of the 17th of September, which I received at Hindhead, and which I have already referred to.

In spite of such agreeable episodes as occasionally meeting pleasant people as fellow-passengers, when one happens to be well (as I was during the voyage), life on board

ship is apt to be somewhat monotonous. The daily recreations (so I found them) were mostly confined to reading, writing, walking, and talking. Eating and sleeping, by day as well as by night, constituted with many, the chief occupations of each period of twenty-four hours. For passengers, it is for the most part an indolent and idle life. Sometimes I found amusement in watching the waves of the vast ocean over which we were travelling. One day particularly, the sea looked very grand and beautiful. The foam of the white-crested waves, every now and then curling over, and revealing a brilliant green colour underneath them as the huge masses of water rolled past in turbulent confusion, formed a fine artistic picture for a maritime painter.

On Wednesday the 20th of November, seven days after leaving New York, we arrived at Liverpool, after passing a stormy night with a violent gale of wind, on our

way from Queenstown the previous evening, up St. George's Channel, which produced a good deal of rolling of the *Oceanic*. We disembarked about nine o'clock in the morning, in the midst of miserable weather and heavy rain, with the usual bustle and confusion on landing after a sea voyage. At length, having got through the "examination of baggage" ceremony at the Custom-house, and taken my ticket for London, I engaged a seat in the corridor carriage of the London and North-Western express train, which left Liverpool at 9.45 A.M. and arrived at Euston at 2.45 P.M.

Thus ends my Canadian pilgrimage! Since I left England on my necessarily quick and rapid journey to the Dominion, I have travelled several thousand miles by sea and land, and seen many things of deep and striking interest to me. It has afforded me the occasion of studying questions of the greatest importance, and of



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extreme political, commercial, and social value to myself. I have passed through all these scenes in perfect health and strength, never having had an hour's illness from the time I started until my return. It has been, indeed, altogether a memorable tour. During its progress I have not only been deeply touched by the invariable kindness and attention I have received from all classes of the attractively genial and warm-hearted inhabitants, both men and women, with whom I have become acquainted, but I have also been immensely impressed with the enterprising spirit and unconquerable energy of the people, as well as of the vast progress which they are making in developing the yet undiscovered resources and hidden future wealth of the grand and mighty Dominion of Canada, at whose outlying portals of the country itself, and some of its principal Cities, I have only had the time very hurriedly to peep. It is one which, while it has

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left upon me so deep an impression, I fervently hope (as a consequence of the public part I have taken, and the public utterances I had the opportunity of making in the course of it) may help to advance the great National Cause to which I have devoted so many years of my life, in the anxious endeavour to promote it to the utmost of my power.

## CHAPTER VIII

### "IMPERIAL FEDERATION"—WHAT IS IT?

"One life, one flag, one fleet, one throne."—TENNYSON.

"THE function of the Empire, in its relation of the different parts of it to ourselves (according to Mr. Gladstone), is a trust given from Providence." If this is so, the question of Imperial Federation is one of the most serious and stupendous problems requiring solution in the twentieth Century, at the hands of the British people. During the previous one, the Empire has grown to gigantic and far-reaching proportions, which have extended over the whole surface of the habitable globe. Sprung from the energetic Anglo-Saxon race,

"Whose flag has braved a thousand years  
The battle and the breeze,"

this dominion of the most progressive people on earth, gradually developing itself to its present magnificent dimensions over the waste places of the world, has hitherto been ruled solely by the controlling voice and power of the "Predominant Partners," the People of the British Isles, whose dwelling-place and home exist at the original centre of its foundation in the midst of the Northern Seas.

The continuous growth and spread of its population to other and distant lands, while still acknowledging the supremacy of the Mother Country, and content to remain under the British flag and the sway of the British Crown, in the course of time necessitated the granting to all the principal outlying portions of the Empire beyond the Seas of what is termed self-government, that is, the control of their own local affairs. But this did not give them any voice or power in shaping or controlling the Imperial policy of the Nation, which has

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continued entirely in the hands of the British Parliament and People at home to the present day. This is such a flagrant anomaly ; it is so completely opposed to the theory, held sacred by every Briton, of his having a share in the choice of the Government who makes his laws and guides the policy of his Country, that it has long been urgently insisted upon, as requiring alteration and change, by those who have earnestly and persistently striven to preserve the permanent unity of the Empire.

If the principle they advocated was to be recognised, it would become imperatively necessary, in order to accomplish it, that the Colonies, to whom self-government in all local matters was already conceded, should have an equitable and adequate voice in the government of the Nation, as a whole, of which they formed so important and constantly progressing an ingredient. With

this idea, of the wisdom of which they were so deeply impressed, the Pioneers of the movement for Imperial Federation long ago put forward their views before the British public at home and beyond the seas. They did so tentatively at first, but at the same time never losing sight of, and therefore clearly advocating, the cardinal principle of an adequate share, and participation in the government of the Empire by the Colonies.

Under such a system, they would, of course, in exchange for this control of its policy, make a fair and equitable contribution to the financial cost of Imperial, as distinguished from local, objects and affairs, in proportion to their representation and means. The essential principle on which this new organisation of the political fabric was founded by its advocates, may be correctly illustrated by a saying of one of the prominent statesmen of the eighteenth Century, Charles James Fox, when he

eloquently uttered his celebrated declaration, that "Representation was the sovereign remedy for every evil." A satisfactory system, by which this remedy could be successfully accomplished, can alone be attained by a unified Nation, having the voice of its component parts heard, and the wishes of the majority adopted by an aggregate collective Assembly or Council, so constituted as adequately to fulfil its representative character.

This principle, propounded by its advocates, was obviously just and sound, as well as being the logical sequence of a theory of the government of a free, undivided, and united Empire. Vigorously and enthusiastically supported by a few ardent adherents, it gradually gained the adhesion of considerable numbers of the most influential leaders of political thought. From them, it permeated the popular mind. It attracted the attention of many of the most intelligent of the people, who

were impressed with its equity and wisdom, and who, when forcibly appealed to, perceived that if the British Empire was to be preserved in its integrity, its component parts beyond the seas must participate in its ruling power, and, in return, share its responsibilities, which hitherto have been undertaken exclusively by the people of the British Isles.

Without possessing much knowledge of the details of the question, or studying all its bearings, they were attracted by an idea, which appealed to their convictions of the justice and fairness of a theory so broad and comprehensive, which pointed in the direction of uniting the various parts of the British Empire in the closest bonds of political, commercial, and social union. In the promulgation of any new ideas or theories of political change or constitutional alteration, it can only be assumed that the originators of them have mastered all the details of their own



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conceptions concerning them. Their followers must be supposed to give their countenance and support to a cause which has won their sympathy, without necessarily grasping all the ramifications of the machinery by which it is to be carried into effect. I remember a notable instance of this sort of vague sentiment in the popular conception of this question occurring many years ago, at a time when the seeds sown by a few of its enthusiastic pioneers like myself were beginning to fructify in the public mind. At a large banquet held in the city of London, at which I was present, an important personage, in the course of a speech, in which allusion was made to Imperial Federation, made use of this remarkable and prophetic declaration. "Gentlemen," he said, "Imperial Federation, Imperial Federation is the thing!"

Although I did not think, or perhaps even give the speaker credit for having

studied very profoundly all the far-reaching issues which were involved in the ultimate adoption of this great national constitutional question, I was impressed with the influence such an expression from his lips, prompted most probably by the fact of the question being then prominently on the tapis, would be sure to have on the ordinary mind of the public at large.

Several definitions of the meaning of Imperial Federation have been advanced by some of its prominent advocates and supporters. Some are broader, bolder, and fuller; and others narrower and more restricted in their scope. The great principle has in general terms been accepted. It has been apparent, when it has been necessary to approach its details, that wide differences of opinion have been manifested, and these have led to difficulties in formulating practical plans for giving it effect, and launching a

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proposal. which should gain the support of the prevailing public opinion in the Mother Country and the Colonies. But difficulties abound in connection with every question, large and small. They are insuperable obstacles only to the timid and narrow-minded. They are impediments to be grappled with, and overcome by the courageous and bold, who have implicit confidence and faith in the rectitude of their cause. For myself, I have long ago given to the world my own definition of Imperial Federation. I have succinctly described it to be, "The government of the Empire, by the Empire, for the Empire." In this brief and comprehensive sentence lies the kernel of my creed. Such a definition involves the adoption of the principle in its entirety of equitable and adequate representation of the various portions of the Empire, with power to share and influence its Imperial policy, and to participate in its Imperial

responsibilities, as integral members and partners of one united British Nation.

To carry out these views, and to emphasise the strong convictions in their favour on the part of its advocates, the Imperial Federation League was founded in the year 1884, under the presidency of, first, the late Right Hon. W. E. Forster, M.P., its earnest and ardent supporter, who continued its Chairman until his death; and subsequently by the late Right Hon. Edward Stanhope, at one time Secretary of State for the Colonies; and lastly by the Earl of Rosebery. Its leading objects were defined in its original manifesto, passed at a conference held in London on Tuesday the 18th November 1884, which declared as follows:—

“That a Society be now formed to be called The Imperial Federation League.

“That the object of the League be to secure by Federation the permanent unity of the Empire.

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"That no scheme of Federation should interfere with the existing rights of local Parliaments as regards local affairs.

"That any scheme of Imperial Federation should combine on an equitable basis the resources of the Empire for the maintenance of common interests, and adequately provide for an organised defence of common rights.

"That the League use every constitutional means to bring about the object for which it is formed, and invite the support of men of all political parties.

"That the membership of the League be open to any British subject who accepts the principles of the League, and pays a yearly registration fee of not less than one shilling.

"That donations and subscriptions be invited for providing means for conducting the business of the League.

"That British subjects throughout the Empire be invited to become members,

and to form and organise branches of the League, which may place their representatives on the general Committee."

During the ten years of its existence, the League accomplished a great and notable success, in familiarising the public at Home and in the Colonies with the principle of the cause which called it into existence, and gaining towards it a constantly increasing sympathy and support. In the course of time, however, it was found that when questions of detail, as to how it should be accomplished, came to be discussed and formulated, wide differences of opinion were manifested on the part of its leaders; and the League was in consequence eventually dissolved. Its place was afterwards taken, with a more moderate and somewhat more elastic programme, by the British Empire League, under the presidency of the Duke of Devonshire, an association which, from the amount of influential support it has

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already acquired, is becoming of considerable public importance. Of both these societies, in succession, I have myself been an active member.

The problem of Imperial Federation is unquestionably a most difficult one to solve. It will tax the wisest Statesmen of the nation satisfactorily to grapple with it, and to discover a successful solution. But it cannot much longer be shirked, or shelved. To those who keenly watch the signs of the times, it is evident that it is not the difficulty alone of the problem, so much as the apathy of the British public, that delays the necessary reconstruction of the Constitution. Long years ago, Macaulay remarked, "A broken head in Cold Bath Fields interests the great British public and its rulers more than the rise and fall of an Empire in the East." It is, indeed, the intensely insular characteristic of the English people at home, which induces them to take a far more absorbing

interest in petty local, than far more important and, to them, in the long run, vital Imperial affairs. The principle demanded by Imperial Federation is, that the Imperial Parliament at Westminster should be elected by the entire Empire, or, at least, by an Imperial Senate or Council, with adequate constitutional power to control the policy of the nation, fairly chosen, as an independent representative body, by the Mother Country and the Colonies, for the government of the Empire, in all strictly defined Imperial, as entirely distinct from local, affairs. These latter, as heretofore, would be wholly managed by the Parliaments of the self-governing Colonies, as at present. It is necessary once more to emphasise this most vital ingredient of the constitutional theory here portrayed, because, unfortunately, either in error or designedly, by opponents of it, the objection has often been urged in the self-governing Colonies, that in any system



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of Imperial Federation they would part with a measure of their own independence. I entirely deny it. The proposed participation in the Government of the Empire, as a whole, would be an addition to, not an abstraction from, their independence and their power. It would add immensely to their importance, their influence, and prestige as citizens of the British Nation beyond the Seas. Their own local self-government, in all their domestic affairs, would be untouched, and would remain precisely and entirely the same, as before, under Imperial Federation. In all Imperial matters, which would be strictly and distinctly defined under a Federal constitutional rule, the self-governing Colonies would share with the Mother Country, authority and power. Representatives would come from groups of the southern seas, either from Australasia, as a whole, or from the Australian Commonwealth and New Zealand separately; from South Africa, when that

great portion of the African Continent is firmly and finally incorporated with the British Realm; from the Dominion of Canada, and eventually, when emancipated from the position of Crown Colonies to the full privileges of self-government, of other portions of the Empire.

“Imperial Federation necessarily involves the virtual independence of the federated states. The discussion of a scheme of British Imperial Federation, with a view to its actual realisation, would lead to practical results only if carried on between perfectly independent autonomous Powers. Participation by right, and not merely by courtesy, over its foreign as well as its domestic affairs, must be exercised by every self-governing community. Dependence on themselves, and on their own diplomatic skill, as well as, when necessary, on their own strength, can alone build up a vigorous, self-reliant national character in any people; while, on the other hand, reliance on a

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foreign Power, even though it be a parent state, enfeebles and degrades.

"The constitution of an Imperial Federation will have to be drawn up on lines not heretofore laid down for any ship of state.

"Reasoning from the past, if the so-called dependencies of Great Britain are to continue to be affiliated to the old country, harmony will be maintained only if each is free to shape its own course in foreign as well as domestic affairs, *except where the wider interests of the whole are concerned*. Each must, in fact, be a perfectly independent power, acting in concert where the interests of trade and commerce and the momentous question of mutual defence demand, but bound to the Mother Country and the other members of the body politic, not so much by rigid constitutional fetters, as by the sympathetic ties of common blood, common aims, pride in a glorious past, and aspirations towards a still more glorious

future. If Imperial Federation of Great Britain and her Colonies is to be effected, sentiment even more than self-interest must be the federating force. Sentiment will help to solve many a difficulty, and primarily, that question as to the personality and function of the head of the Federation. Although no member of the Federation would create a King to preside over her local government, a constitutional monarch might appropriately be the head of the Federation. He would represent in his person the traditions of the past, and embody the historical continuity of the race. Powerless to interfere arbitrarily, but not therefore bereft of influence, the creature of his subjects, though nominally the controller of their fate, his right to avert injustice and enforce fair play would exert a restraining power. Such a nominal head, called by whatever name the republican principles of the Federation would allow to be applied, would be a less

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dangerous and more picturesque chief than an elected President."

I have been induced to introduce into this chapter on Imperial Federation the above extract from a very able and most interesting volume entitled "Questions of the Day," written for Canadian readers by Mr. James Douglas, a Canadian long resident in the United States, because they express so forcibly and cogently my own general sentiments on the subject.

On the fiscal question, one of the most difficult, and at the same time one of the most vitally important, to be handled and adjusted under any system of Imperial Federation, as a detail of supreme necessity, on which there is so wide a difference between opposite schools of commercial thoughts in this country and the Colonies, Mr. James Douglas in his essay writes also as follows:—

"Looking at the natural resources, still undeveloped and not half discovered, and

the growing population of the Republic (the following remarks will apply also to many of the great European nations, who persistently adopt a policy of shutting out England's manufactures by a protective tariff), occupying half a new continent, and looking at the little island, digging deep for its mineral wealth, and teeming with people, who jostle one another for mere existence, one can hardly doubt what the issue will be unless the little island can gather into a commercial league, offensive and defensive, the scattered members of her family, from north, and south, and east, and west, who still bear to her filial affection. Whether even that will avail, must depend upon the course of the trade relations the world over. Yet, if the nations of the earth are to be marshalled with hostile commercial camps—as is the indication at present—legislating in their own favours as against all others, it would seem as if England and her Colonies could advantageously to

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its members compose a powerful *Zollverein*, strong enough to be self-supporting, and to enforce respectful recognition of its rights by others. And should, in time, the policy of isolation be abandoned by the nations in favour of more cosmopolitan commercial intercourse, out of these close trade relations, which we will suppose have been harmoniously maintained by the British Federation, might grow a political partnership of still wider range, which would realise the highest aspirations of the Federists."

The dawning of the twentieth century has developed an object-lesson of the greatest possible importance to the advocates of Imperial Federation. The great war in South Africa has given to the world, and focussed the indubitable evidence that Great Britain and her Colonies are one undivided Empire. It has crystallised the arguments in favour of Imperial Federation. The people of the

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great self-governing Colonies, the Commonwealth of Australia and New Zealand, and the Dominion of Canada, who have voluntarily come forward so nobly to help the Mother Country in her hour of need, shedding their blood profusely on the battle-field on her behalf, and devoting their resources unstintingly to aid her in permanently maintaining the supremacy of the British flag in South Africa, must force to the front this question of Imperial Federation as nothing else could effect.

Long ago designated a dream, fanciful and beautiful in theory, but impracticable in reality, by enthusiasts like myself, it has at last become a question of practical politics. Future statesmen will have to consider what changes in the constitution of the Government of the British Realm are imperatively required in order to secure the establishment of a concrete, responsible, representative power to govern, and



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control the direction, and shape the lines of British policy, as one of the leading nations of the world.

The grand response to the sentiment of the highest ideal of true patriotism on the part of the Colonies has never had a finer or nobler proof in history. It is impossible to conceive, but that after all this an organic alteration in the lines of the British Constitution must before very long take place, which will admit the self-governing Colonies to their proper share in the participation of the Empire's Government; for which, when fairly represented, their patriotism, already so splendidly evinced, will be sure to incline them, in order to share its responsibilities also. But it must be a fair and just system all round. The old Parliamentary principle, first inaugurated by King Edward III., and, gradually in the long centuries since the reign of that wise and astute Monarch, modified and reformed, must be further

developed and changed to suit the requirements of the altered conditions of the Great Britain of the fourteenth, and the Greater Britain of the twentieth century.

The approaching conference of the Premiers of the self-governing Colonies, summoned by the Secretary of State, Mr. Chamberlain, to assemble during their visit to England for the celebration of their Majesties' Coronation, is a matter of supreme importance. At that, which was held in the year 1887, under the Presidency of the then Secretary of State for the Colonies, Sir Henry T. Holland, now Lord Knutsford, and which was initiated by the action with that object by the Imperial Federation League, the direct question of Imperial Federation was eliminated by express condition from the subjects which were permitted for discussion. At the same time it was obvious to all who perused the very valuable and interesting account of the various questions which were deliberated

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upon during the whole of the conferences, which were subsequently published in the Parliamentary Blue Book, that the President had continually to restrain many of the Representatives from straying into the forbidden arena by more or less reference to something connected with Imperial Federation. Since that period many changes have taken place, and much has happened. It is sincerely to be hoped that, under Mr. Chamberlain's presidency, the whole subject, together with all its bearings, will be frankly and fairly discussed, so as to afford an exhaustive preliminary opportunity of ventilating on the part of the Colonial representatives in grave consultation with one so sympathetic as himself, all the national issues involved in connection with this great question.

I close this chapter on "Imperial Federation—What is it?" by quoting a pregnant passage in a speech delivered not very

long ago by the brilliant and eloquent present Prime Minister of the Dominion of Canada, Sir Wilfrid Laurier, who has voiced the direction of the way to its solution, and tersely proclaimed the text of this supremely vital and important national question, when he uttered these memorable words, "Call us to your Councils!"

In this succinct, yet most comprehensive and expressive sentence, is comprised the germ of the meaning of Imperial Federation.



## APPENDIX

### A.—IMPERIAL FEDERATION

*To the Editor of the "Morning Post."*

SIR,—A life-long labour of endeavour to promote the closest possible union—commercial, political, and social—between Great Britain and her Colonies induces me to hail with the warmest satisfaction every indication in the direction of the accomplishment of that greatly-to-be-desired goal, Imperial Federation for the ultimate government of the Empire. I read, therefore, with the utmost interest and pleasure the able contributions which from time to time appear in your columns from your well-informed correspondent on the subject of "Colonial Affairs." In his latest article, under the heading "Canada and Imperial Federation," there are some remarkable references showing the advance of Colonial ideas on this national question, and of the progress it is slowly but surely making in the various Colonies of the Empire. True, these ideas are still somewhat crude, and scarcely yet sufficiently understood and embraced by the leaders of

Colonial thought as a cardinal principle of perfect political union, viz., "Representation going hand in hand with Taxation." Like your correspondent, I am one of those who welcome with the greatest satisfaction the noble and handsome contribution by the Cape Parliament to the Navy as being a substantial proof of the sincere wish on the part of our countrymen at the Cape to take a share in the maintenance of the fleet as the first line of defence for the British Empire. Their warm-hearted sympathy, unfettered by any ultimate political conditions being attached to the splendid donation, is admirable in itself. It is emphatically a grand example of loyalty and love to the Mother Country, and an evidence of their desire to recognise the benefits they derive from their connection with Great Britain and the protection they obtain from the Royal Navy. The same sentimental feeling is, of course, satisfactorily emphasised also by the handsome offer of the Colony of Natal with respect to the supply of coal to the ships of the Navy visiting the Port of Durban. We cannot, however, be altogether surprised at the view which your correspondent refers to with respect to Canada on this subject, when he alludes to what he terms "a not unimportant section of the Dominion not following suit on the ground that such a course involves Taxation without Representation." Like your correspondent, I forbear attempting at the moment to argue the point, but what I am anxious to emphasise

is the fact that the great question of Imperial Federation, with all its vital issues to the future of the Empire, is steadily making way and taking root among the leaders of thought and shaping the ideas of the Colonies. This must ultimately bear fruit and attain the object which those who have long earnestly advocated the cause devoutly desire. There are and will be, of course, many set-backs, many difficulties to be overcome, many oppositions and prejudices and ignorance and selfish obstacles among politicians, both at home and in the Colonies, to be encountered and surmounted, but I for one feel confident that the ultimate triumph of Imperial Federation will be won, because I firmly believe it to be the right principle on which our complex Constitution must be developed for the true benefit of our Countrymen both at home and beyond the seas. I should like to add, with reference to the weighty words of Mr. Chamberlain on the subject of Federation in his recent important speech at Wakefield, the expression of my supreme satisfaction at the encouragement he has given to this great national cause. It is, indeed, a most hopeful sign of its onward progress when the present influential and sympathetic Minister for the Colonies has expressed himself in the terms he has done on this momentous question.—Yours, &c.,

FREDERICK YOUNG.

*December 10, 1900.*



B.—PATRIOTISM OF GREATER  
BRITAIN

*To the Editor of the "Morning Post."*

SIR,—I have read with sincere pleasure your admirable leader in to-day's *Morning Post* on the patriotism of Greater Britain. Having just returned from a flying, but deeply interesting, visit to Canada, I am anxious to assure you how many indisputable proofs I received during my stay at the cities of Kingston, Toronto, Ottawa, Montreal, and Quebec, of the prevailing ideas which are current among all classes of Canadians, French as well as English, of loyalty and love for the British flag and the British throne. At Kingston I was an eye-witness of the enthusiasm with which their Royal Highnesses the Prince and Princess of Wales were received, when they came to that city (as one of the functions so graciously performed during their most successful and triumphant tour through the Dominion) for the purpose of laying the foundation-stone of the new University buildings there, by the crowds of citizens of all classes who were congregated in the streets on that auspicious occasion.

Subsequently, at all the other cities I have

mentioned, I was constantly reminded of the same ideas and heard the same sentiments expressed to me personally by leading statesmen, merchants, lawyers, and leaders of thought among the highest educated classes, to whom I had the honour of being introduced. The evidence I have received it is impossible for me either to ignore or not to be convinced of its true and genuine character. I earnestly wish more of our own educated classes at home could be persuaded to take such a "passing peep" as I have recently done at some portion of the great Dominion, so as to make themselves better acquainted with it—with its substantial progress and vast possibilities of the future. Above all, to witness with their own eyes the deep attachment of the people to the Motherland, and of the desire to continue to be incorporated with it for all future time. On this point I should like to mention that in writing to me recently my esteemed and distinguished friend, Principal Grant, the head of the Kingston University, says, after telling me of the value of my own trip to Canada :—

"Canadians go to England and relate their views, but we seldom see Englishmen who come to Canada and do the same. I thank you warmly on behalf of my Countrymen for what you have done in making publicly known your impressions of the Dominion in so favourable a way."

You, in the excellent article I have referred to, notice what his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales

said at the Guildhall, "that the Colonists think that the Mother Country needs to wake up if she is to keep her commercial supremacy." I had the honour of being present on that occasion, and heard these wise words, so admirably delivered, which were spoken by his Royal Highness. I most heartily endorse them. I am satisfied this is the opinion of the most experienced and soundest leaders of thought in the Dominion. But if the Mother Country is to be effectually "wakened up" she must show a real sympathetic feeling in commercial as well as political matters with the Colonies. I came back from Canada full of impressions of their desire to co-operate with us at home; but, if so, there must be no longer a continuance of the hitherto apathetic attitude which has been too reprehensibly adopted, but a broad-minded, liberal sympathy, leading to a policy in which a fair and generous preference is shown in trade matters to Colonial over foreign productions. I would like, also, to say that I thank you for all you have said with regard to my old excellent and most energetic and indefatigable friend Colonel George T. Denison, of Toronto. It is not to be expected that you would at once endorse and support his schemes. But I would appeal to you, as well as to my Countrymen generally at home, to weigh them attentively before deciding on their merits or otherwise. He is about, as I know, to come over to England for the purpose of propounding them at different important centres

in this country. I warmly wish him success in his efforts. He is a true patriotic Briton. His one earnest desire is to see the British Empire at home and beyond the seas flourish and remain in permanent unity for all time.—Yours, &c.,

FREDERICK YOUNG.

ATHENÆUM, Dec. 13, 1901.

### C.—PATRIOTISM OF GREATER BRITAIN

*To the Editor of the "Morning Post."*

SIR,—May I again trespass on your space and express my hearty appreciation of Sir Frederick Young's most useful and gracefully expressed letter entitled "Patriotism of Greater Britain"? The principles and suggestions so ably set forth by Sir Frederick Young, that the Mother Country must abandon her "apathetic attitude," and if she is to be effectually "wakened up," "she must show a real sympathetic feeling in commercial as well as political matters with the Colonies," are admirable indeed. I would further suggest, however, that no one has yet clearly and boldly stated the causes and reasons of this lamentable apathy and indifference, and it might prove a

very practical advantage if a correspondence were invited on the subject, and the gist of the opinions of those who have strenuously fought in their endeavours to "wake up" England should be published. In my letter to you on the subject of the decoration of the streets on the occasion of the coming Coronation, I pointed out one real obstacle to progress in my statement "that it is easier to obtain an audience with the President of the United States or the Keeper of the King's Privy Purse than it is to obtain an interview with the 'head' of a department of a big commercial house."—Yours, &c.,

LOUIS KNIGHT.

RICHMOND, SURREY, *Dec. 19.*

#### D.—IMPERIAL FEDERATION

##### COLONIAL OPINION ON THE EMPIRE'S DEFENCE

*St. James's Gazette*, February 27, 1902

In connection with the statement made the other night by Sir Michael Hicks Beach, that advantage would be taken of the presence in London in June next of the Colonial Premiers to talk over the question of the Colonies contributing to the defence of the Empire, it is not generally understood (says a *St. James's Gazette* correspondent) that

Australasia and Cape Colony already do something in that direction. For fourteen years the States of Australia and the Colony of New Zealand have subscribed between them about £125,000 per annum towards the maintenance of a squadron of five cruisers in Australasian waters. They have thus contributed during that period the not inconsiderable total of one and three-quarter million sterling. The vessels are exclusively engaged in patrolling the South Pacific, and under the conditions of the arrangements they cannot be employed in any other waters without the consent of the Colonies, although if the necessity arose for their presence in any other quarter that sanction would no doubt be readily forthcoming. The Cape gives thirty thousand pounds a year. The suggestion, however, that the Colonies may by-and-by contribute to the general defence of the Empire opens up a much bigger question. It is no new idea, nor is it the first time that a Minister has alluded to its being within the range of practical politics, but the fact that it is to be seriously discussed within four months is sufficient to show that responsible statesmen have given the subject some consideration. There is, as Sir Michael pointed out, no question of England "approaching the Colonies as beggars." The Colonies must themselves say what they are prepared to do; the proposals must come from them.

Colonials holding official positions in London consider the question to be one of the greatest importance. They recognise that the time will come when the relations of the Colonies to the Mother Country must in the natural order of things be developed in the direction of joint responsibility. When it does the Colonies will consider themselves entitled to be represented in the Councils of State, and it is doubted whether they are yet prepared for all that that means. Some of the Australian representatives consider that Australia at least is not, and they do not think the proposal can be realised for a number of years to come, not because the Colonies wish to shirk the responsibilities of Empire, but because such a result must be led up to gradually. For the present Australia's efforts must be directed towards consolidating the Commonwealth, a work which is regarded as being very far from accomplished. With the knowledge gained in this experience Australia will be better prepared to consider the wider question of the Federation of the Empire.

The opinion is very widely held in Colonial circles that the establishment of an Imperial Customs Tariff should come before the question of the Colonies contributing to the Imperial defence. Once the trade relations between the various parts of the Empire have been brought more closely together on the basis of preferential treatment there would, it is thought, be a greater incentive to

consider the other questions connected with Federation of the Empire. The subject will be discussed again when the Colonial Premiers are in London, and it is hoped that the result may be more satisfactory on this occasion.

While the time is not considered ripe for the realisation of the larger scheme it is thought that an extension of the present arrangement might be made. Australia, it is said, would be willing to give a largely increased contribution per annum provided that faster cruisers were placed in her waters. It might also be possible to establish a Naval Reserve. There is plenty of material to draw from in the seafaring and fishing populations, and no difficulty is anticipated in the formation of a first-class Colonial Reserve. For the complete success of the movement, however, it would be necessary, in the opinion of Colonial authorities, for the Admiralty to sanction the men being trained in port on the ships of the local squadron. Such a scheme has already been formulated by some Australian statesmen, but hitherto the home authorities have not availed themselves of the suggestion. At the conference of the Premiers to be held in June the subject will be brought forward by the Australian representatives, who will urge its adoption as leading up to the more ambitious proposal which Sir Michael Hicks Beach foreshadowed in his recent utterance.



## E.—AN IMPERIAL ARMY

## GOVERNMENT'S IMPORTANT SCHEME

*The Greatest Force in the World*

The *St. James's Gazette*, March 5, 1902

"I trust it may be possible that some arrangement may be made for the whole forces of the Empire to be available in case of a war in which the interests of the whole Empire are involved. An opportunity of conferring with our Colonial friends on this subject will occur when the visit of the Colonial statesmen for the Coronation takes place, and we shall then have an opportunity of seeing how far the schemes in our minds commend themselves to the Colonies, and how far they are willing to undertake the responsibility which will more closely link together the various parts of the Empire."

Thus spoke Mr. Brodrick in the House of Commons on Tuesday night in drawing to a conclusion his speech on the Army estimates.

F.—LORD ROSEBERY AND CANADIAN  
OPINION

From the *Times*, February 26, 1902

*(From our Canadian Correspondent)*

TORONTO, Feb. 13.

The return of Lord Rosebery to active participation in English politics has been watched with

extraordinary interest throughout Canada. It has everywhere been regarded as a matter of national importance, and the attention given to it furnishes a striking index to the changed conditions under which the Empire exists. The greater part of the Chesterfield speech was cabled across for the journals of the following day, and both at the time when it was delivered and since the full text has been received the main propositions of the speech have been canvassed alike in the large city journals and in the small country newspapers. The citizen of the Dominion has as yet no share in the franchise of the Empire to which he belongs, but he can and does take an interest as immediate, and, in my opinion, quite as intelligent, in Imperial politics, as that of the average voter of the United Kingdom. This is particularly true at the present time when participation in the South African War has concentrated attention upon the principles and problems involved in the struggle and upon the men who deal with them. The losses caused by the War are many, but certainly among the gains must be reckoned the profound process of national education which has been one of its natural and most valuable results. The introduction of the somewhat undisciplined but mobile and self-reliant Colonial soldier into the fighting line of the Empire has been generally looked upon as of military importance; the reaction on British politics of practical Colonial thought, when once fully

awakened, may prove of no less national significance. At any rate, our Canadian newspapers of the last few weeks show that when a statesman of Lord Rosebery's standing makes a public statement of policy, he addresses a deeply-interested and closely-critical audience in this Dominion, as he, no doubt, does in the other greater Colonies.

There are, of course, special circumstances connected with Lord Rosebery's career which increase Colonial interest in his utterances. No other man of equal prominence in English public life has personally visited and studied the Colonies. Of the Liberal statesmen of this generation he was only second to the late Mr. W. E. Forster in fully accepting those new ideas about the Empire which are now fast becoming an essential part of the national creed. For years, at a period when these ideas counted for little in English politics, he devoted no little time and thought to securing for them due recognition. Those who have watched most closely the trend of things in the outer Empire will be ready to agree that much of the rich political harvest reaped by Mr. Chamberlain as Colonial Secretary has come from seed laboriously and industriously sown by Lord Rosebery as President of the Imperial Federation League in years when Mr. Chamberlain scarcely thought the movement worthy of his notice, or at least gave it no active support. In the stress of party

conflict in England much of this past record is forgotten, but it is remembered in the Colonies.

Besides this there is a widespread feeling in this country that Lord Rosebery is at present the only possible leader of a strong Liberal party. He is expected to reconcile a moderate and sane Imperialism with Liberal principles and policy. The combination is one which makes a strong appeal to the democracy of the Colonies. The so-called Little Englander finds no standing ground here any more than he does in Australia, New Zealand, or at the Cape. The most distinguished living representative of his ideas, Mr. Goldwin Smith, while admired for his ability, respected for his generous character, and attracting everybody by his personal charm, has thrown away the opportunity for unbounded influence in the Dominion by clinging to political ideas with which the country has absolutely no sympathy. The attitude of a portion of the Liberal party in Britain towards national questions, and particularly towards the South African War, the impotence of a divided Opposition for criticising or correcting the mistakes or weakness of the Administration, have been generally looked upon here as a menace to the national position. As the swing of the political pendulum brings nearer the time when the Liberal party may have hopes of regaining power, the question of its dominant policy becomes a matter of anxious interest. Anything is welcomed which

offers a reasonable hope of bringing it into line with national aspirations as they are understood in the Colonies.

The policy enunciated at Chesterfield meets, on the whole, with cordial approval. A few critics have attempted to minimise its importance, and Mr. Goldwin Smith steadily refuses to accept Lord Rosebery as a serious politician. But the more general feeling is that the speech may mark a most important turning-point in British politics. It is pointed out that something like a new era has opened when a Liberal leader, in marking out the lines on which a reconstructed party can be built up, formally lays aside the alliance with the Irish party in Parliament; makes acceptance of the Imperial idea one of the chief planks in the party platform; endorses the justice of the war; treats annexation of the Dutch Republics as the natural and inevitable sequel of the Boer appeal to arms, and of the invasion and forcible annexation of British territory; vigorously defends the character of our soldiers in the conduct of the war; stands firmly by Lord Milner as the proper person to complete the task committed to him; and in doing all this carries with him Mr. Asquith, Sir Edward Grey, and so many of the other members of his party who are looked upon as most available for an alternative Ministry. But the opinion is generally expressed that Lord Rosebery has still a heavy task before him, and that nothing but resolute and

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persistent leadership will enable him to restore the Liberal party to a position where it will again command the confidence of the nation. Canada, like the other great Colonies, honours the Liberal statesmanship of fifty years ago, which saw that the true way to deal with the young nations growing up abroad was to give them Responsible Government. But no party can live on its traditions alone. Liberal statesmen must show that they grasp the new situation created by their own Liberal policy if they are to maintain their old hold on the nation. That policy has, contrary to expectation, made for unity rather than separation. A large wing of the party has failed to recognise this, and by doing so has, in Canadian judgment, made itself impossible in the Government of the Nation, especially at a time when the consolidation of the Empire is uppermost in all minds. In developing a new line of party policy Lord Rosebery gives Liberalism another opportunity. Will prejudices and party animosities be sunk in order to seize the opportunity? Will Radical Liberalism recognise that the maintenance of the Empire is the supreme necessity of the moment? Will the leader lead without flinching or wearying? These are the questions everywhere asked, and asked, it must be confessed, in a tone of doubt. For one thing, Lord Rosebery must not be too thin-skinned if he is to do the service to the Empire which his position and abilities render possible. He must think less of the pin-pricks of

party jealousy and opposition and more of the great issues to which these are but passing incidents. "If a man is betrayed once it may be an error of judgment on his part ; if he allows himself to be betrayed a second time he is a fool," was the substance of a remark made to a friend two years ago in justification or explanation of his attitude of aloofness from his own party. But even party betrayal, grievous though it be, should not move a leader with large purposes in view, and the purposes at present are certainly large enough to stimulate any ambition and overcome any personal feeling. Looking at the question from a Colonial point of view one doubts if any English statesman of modern times has had a more worthy or weightier patriotic duty laid upon him than that of reconstructing and consolidating one of the great parties in the State at this transition period when the future destinies of the Empire are at stake as they have seldom been before. Lord Rosebery's knowledge, his sympathy with Colonial life, the imagination which enabled him long before most of his contemporaries to grasp the possibility of a Greater Britain linked to the Motherland, are qualities which the nation needs at this juncture.

Far-reaching questions of organisation and co-operation must be discussed and decided within the next few years, and great satisfaction will be felt throughout the Colonies if the statesman who has elected to preach the gospel of national efficiency

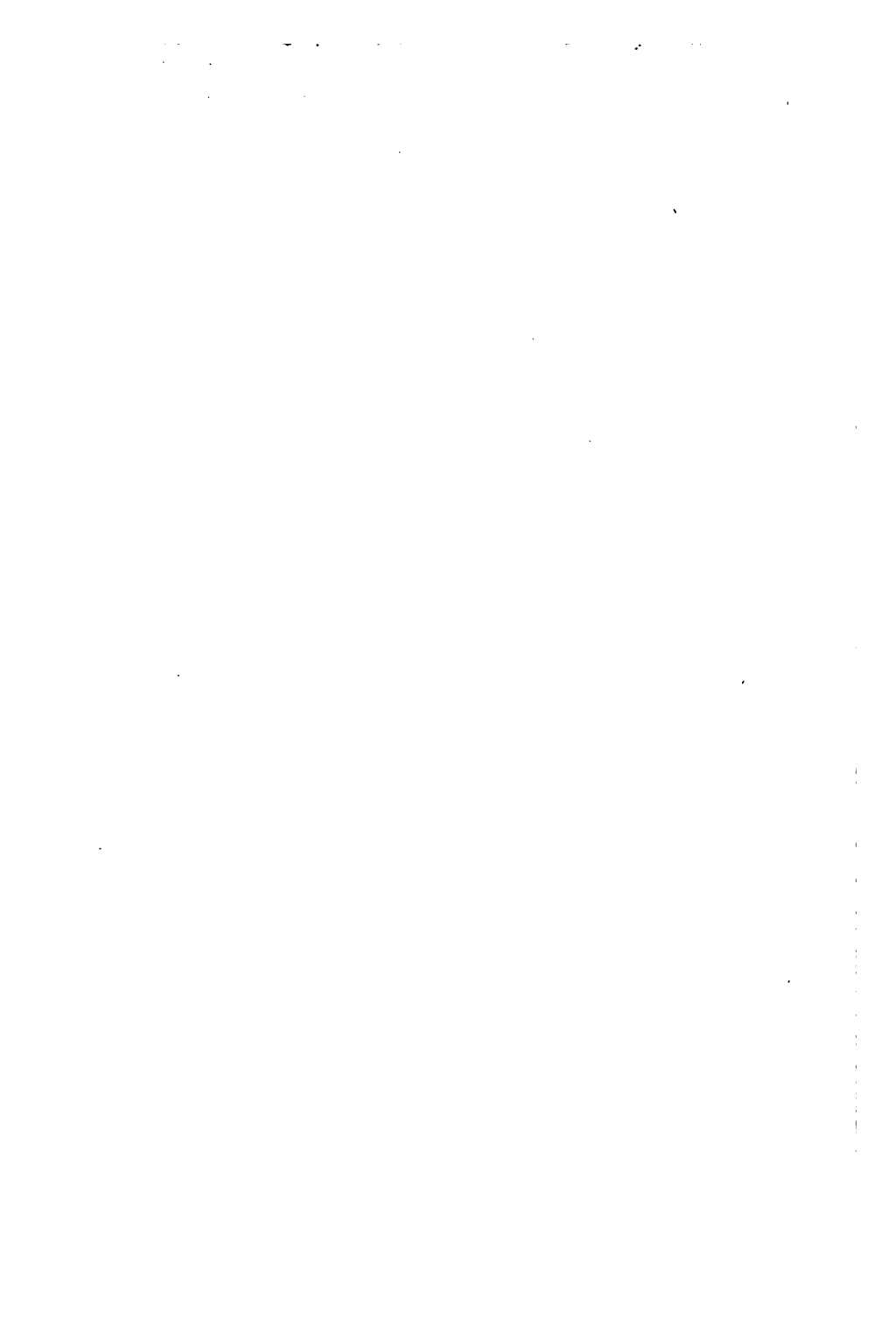
will hold himself ready, whether as a critic in opposition or as the leader of a Government, to assist strenuously in solving the national problems which confront us. Whether Lord Rosebery will have the persistence to lead patiently, and his party the wisdom to follow along the lines which he has laid down, are questions which will be watched with anxious interest in Canada and the other Colonies.

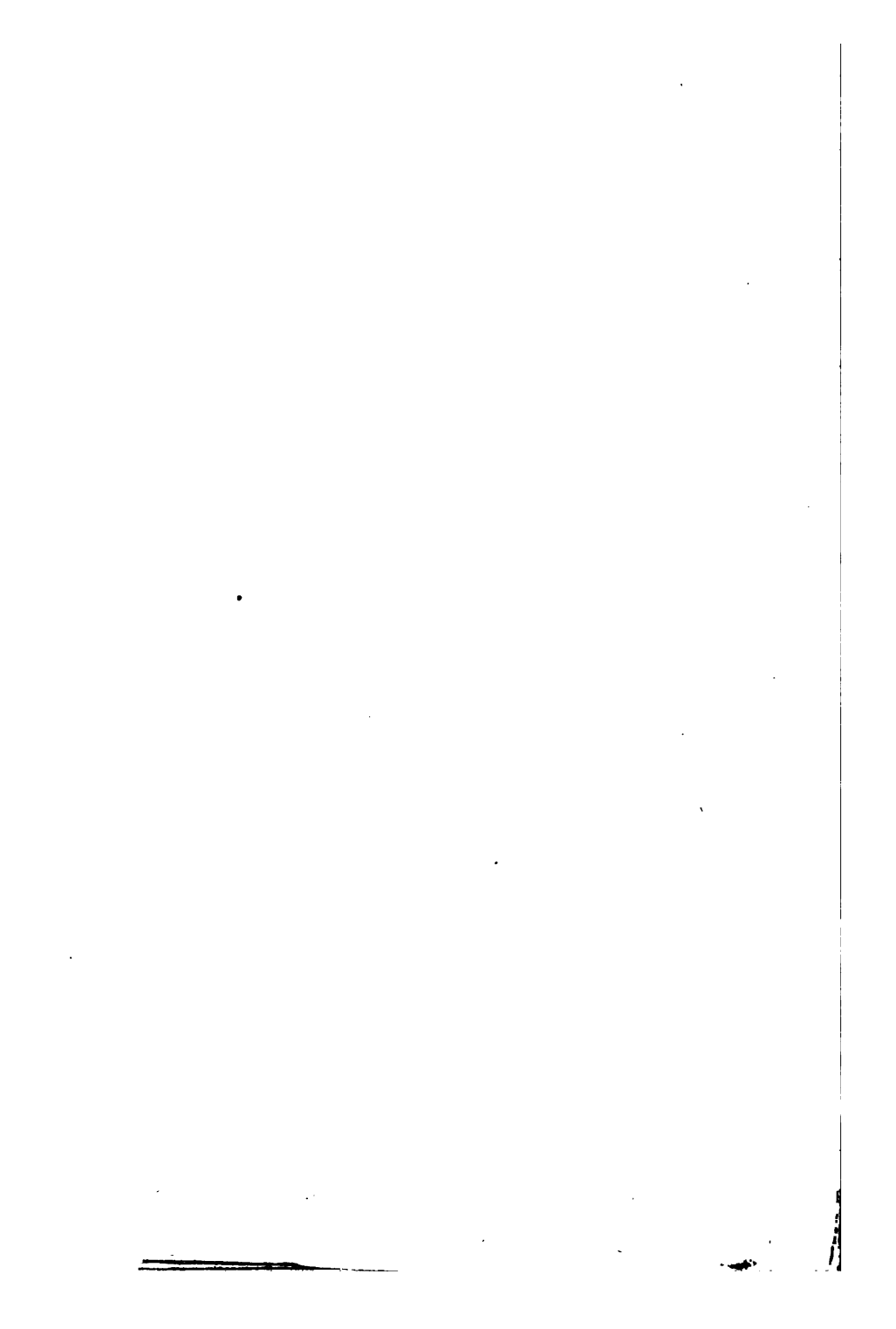
That national interests are of more consequence than party interests is certainly the keynote of the Chesterfield speech. But that a party can only be strong in English politics by being broadly national seems to be its higher conclusion. It is a conclusion which Canadians would gladly see accepted in its fulness by the Liberal party.

THE END













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